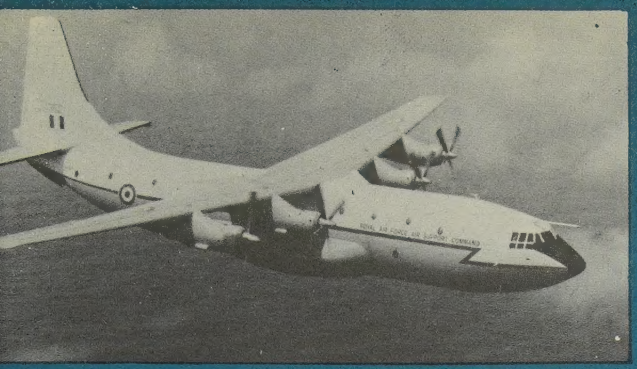
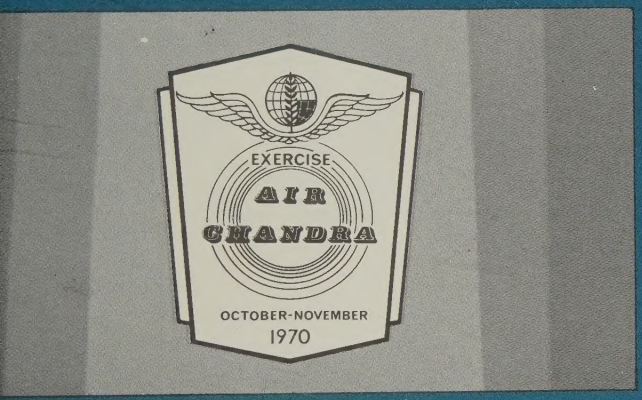
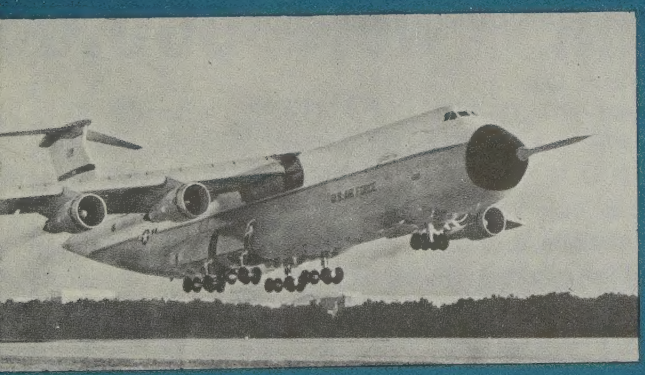
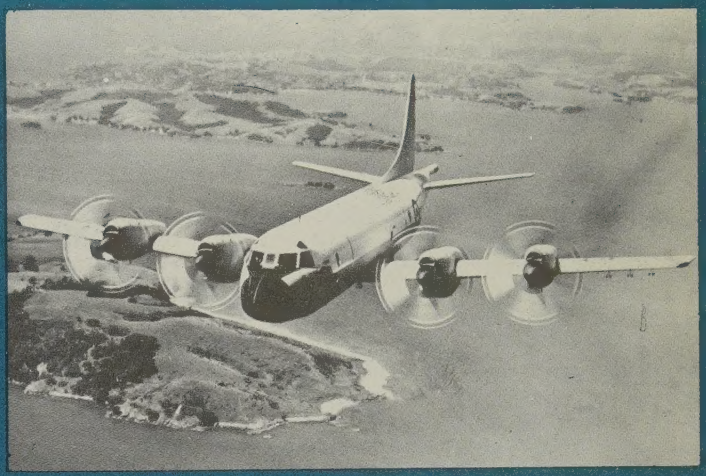


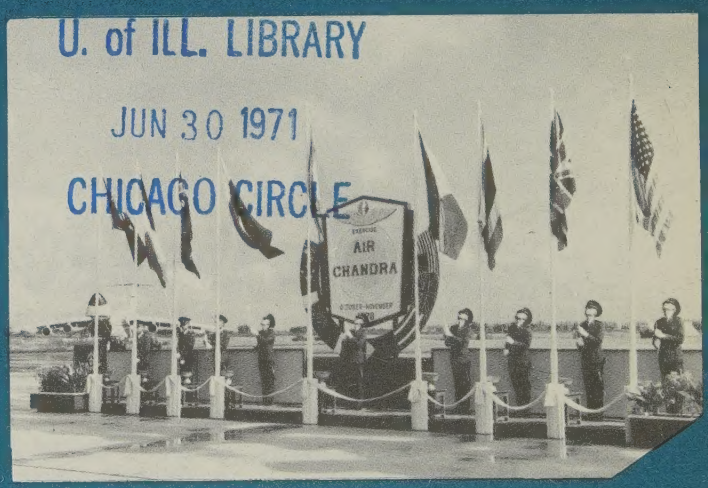




SEATO RECORD

Vol. IX No. 6 December, 1970





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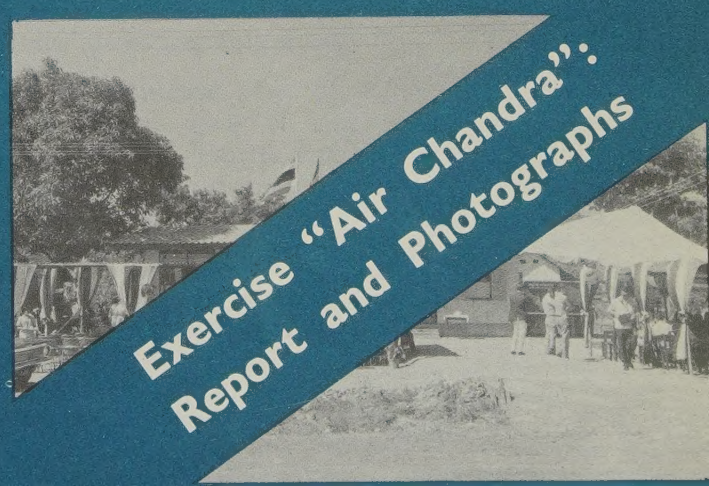

Exercise "Air Chandra": Report and Photographs

SEATO RECORD

SEATO RECORD features significant events in South-East Asia, as well as activities of the Organization and its member nations. It reports statements which reflect attitudes or policies related to SEATO's role as a defensive organization.

SEATO PROJECTS:

AGRICULTURAL RESEARCH PROJECT

●

SEATO REGIONAL COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE CENTRE

●

SEATO VEHICLE REBUILD WORKSHOP

●

SEATO SKILLED LABOUR PROJECTS:

Thailand—initiated by SEATO

Military Technical Training School, Bangkok.
Teacher Development Centre, Bangkok.
Vocational Training Centres located in 19 provincial cities.

Pakistan—

SEATO Technical Training Centre, Dacca.
SEATO Technical Training Centre, Karachi.

Philippines—

SEATO Vocational Training Centre, Marikina.

●

SEATO MEDICAL PROJECTS:

Thailand—

SEATO Medical Research Laboratory, Bangkok.
SEATO Clinical Research Centre, Bangkok.

Pakistan—

Pakistan-SEATO Cholera Research Laboratory, Dacca.

●

SEATO CULTURAL PROGRAMME

Under-Graduate Scholarships, Post Graduate Scholarships, Fellowships, Professorships. Literary Awards

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COVER:

The photographs show some of the aircraft that were on show to the public during "Air Chandra" and other aspects of SEATO's 38th exercise.

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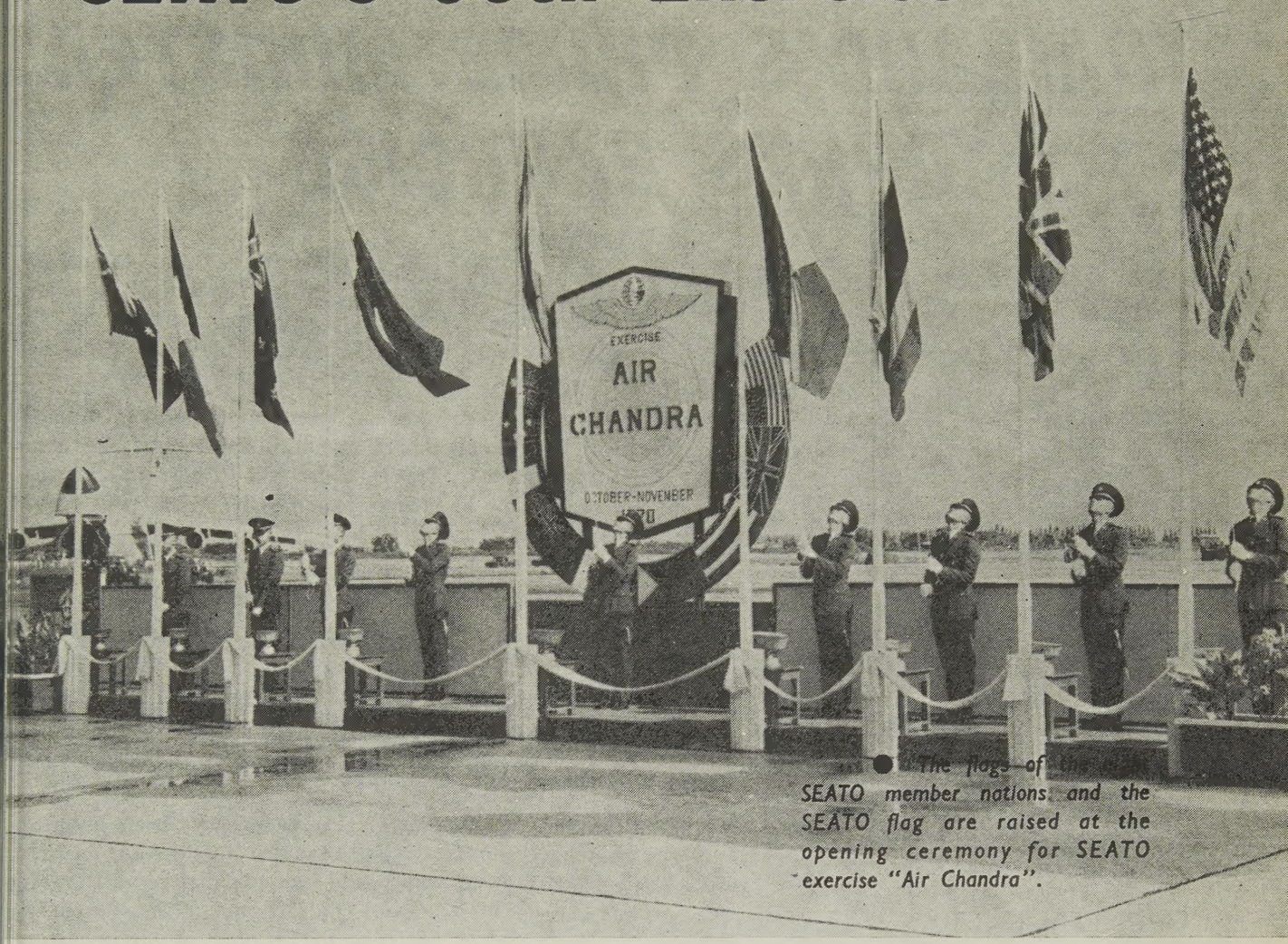
SEATO's 38th Exercise



The flags of the eight SEATO member nations and the SEATO flag are raised at the opening ceremony for SEATO exercise "Air Chandra".

50,000 view "Air Chandra" planes

"AIR Chandra", SEATO's 38th military exercise, was officially opened by Thailand's Prime Minister Thanom Kittikachorn in a ceremony at Don Muang Airport, Bangkok, on October 24.

The aims of the exercise—which closed on November 6—were to give training in air deployment and to hold a symposium study on a centralized airlift system to further improve SEATO's military defensive capability.

The United States and Australia were co-sponsors of the exercise, in which five SEATO nations took part—Australia, New Zealand, Thailand, United Kingdom and United States. The Philippines sent observers.

"Air Chandra" was in two parts. The first, an air deployment phase, involved the movement of 24 strike and transport aircraft from the five participating nations to Don Muang. The aircraft were on show to the public on October 24-25.

Over 50,000 people are estimated to have inspected a line-up which included aircraft ranging from the world's largest—the giant United States C5 Galaxy troop and freight carrier—to light reconnaissance planes and helicopters.

The second phase of the exercise consisted of a symposium study of a centralized airlift system. Military airlift experts examined how to obtain the maximum use of transport aircraft from SEATO countries in the event of a deployment of SEATO forces to meet any aggression in the region.

To finance a civic action project for "Air Chandra", SEATO provided US$ 5,500 to set up a health centre in Nong Khai Province, N.E. Thailand.

THAILAND'S PRIME MINISTER OPENS EXERCISE

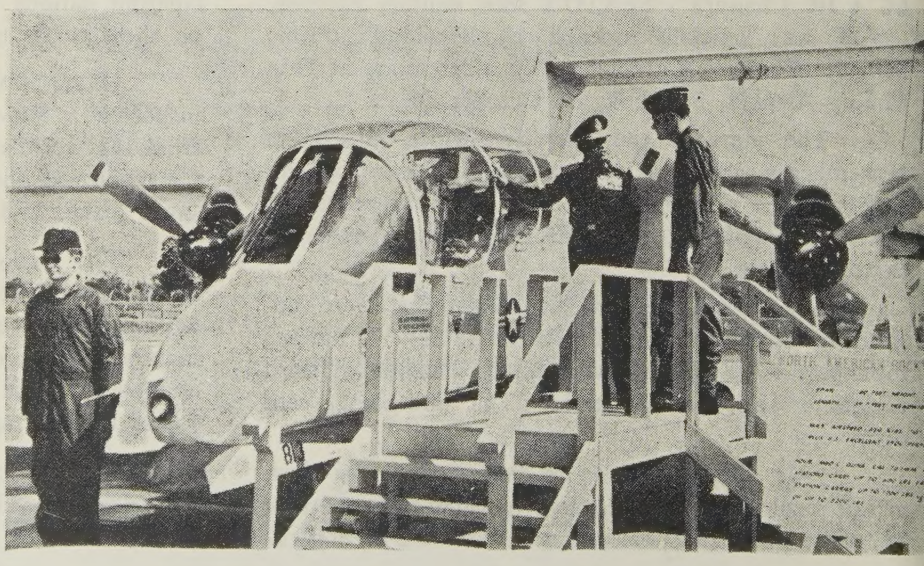
OPENING SEATO Exercise "Air Chandra", Thailand's Prime Minister Thanom Kittikachorn said the exercise was particularly suitable to the present situation in the region and would strengthen SEATO's role.

"From what has been happening in this region, it is apparent that Communist aggression may occur at any time. SEATO's decision to hold this exercise will result in greater readiness to defend this area," he said.

Valuable experience would be gained from "Air Chandra", along with vitally important data concerning both the Organization's strength and weaknesses.

This, together with the exchange of opinions following the exercise, would contribute towards the formulation of the best measures for defence against armed aggression.

He continued: "It has always been my wish to see more exercises mounted by SEATO because they provide very useful training and serve to warn our enemies of our preparedness. The ceremony today, which includes the display of aircraft from member countries, reflects full co-operation in SEATO, and it should increase the people's confidence in the Organization."



ABOVE: Air Commodore C.H. Spurgeon, RAAF, the Deputy Exercise Director for "Air Chandra", is introduced to the Prime Minister of Thailand, Marshal of the Royal Thai Air Force Thanom Kittikachorn, at the exercise opening ceremony. In the centre is the Exercise Director, Major-General Lawrence F. Tanberg, U.S.A.F. RIGHT: The Prime Minister looks over the U.S.A.F. OV10 "Bronco"—a counter-insurgency combat aircraft—and discusses its capability with the pilot, First Lieutenant Richard L. Brahmer.

● There was always a long queue of people waiting to see the inner workings of the Royal Air Force Belfast transport aircraft on display at Don Muang Airport.

Gen. Vargas explains...

WHY EXERCISES ARE NECESSARY

IN an address at the opening ceremony of SEATO Exercise "Air Chandra", SEATO Secretary-General Jesus Vargas recalled that it was on the same grounds 14 years ago that the first of a series of SEATO military exercises—Exercise "Firm Link"—was staged.

But this did not mean that from the standpoint of training and combat effectiveness, the armed forces of the SEATO member countries had come full circle and were now no better off than they were almost a decade-and-a-half ago.

"It means rather that, cognizant of the consistently exacting imperatives of the military and political situation in this part of the world, the SEATO nations have ceaselessly endeavoured to attain and maintain a state of military preparedness which any potential aggressor is not likely to dare flout or ignore", said Gen. Vargas.

SEATO's value as a deterrent to Communist aggression lay ultimately in the capacity it had developed over the years to mount immediate and effective military action; its immediate worth in this regard rested on the fact that the Communists had been adequately served notice, through pronouncements of the SEATO Council and by means of the two to three military exercises which SEATO had staged annually since 1956, that any act of aggression against any of its members would elicit a devastating return blow from the SEATO allies.

"One may well wonder if, at this point in time, when the trend in international politics is towards achieving a reduction in world tension, military exercises by security alliances such as SEATO are not in fact creating more world tension. This argument is illogical," declared the Secretary-General.

"In the first place, SEATO is a defensive alliance, and the Communists know that the countries which have banded themselves together in SEATO are committed never to utilize for aggression against anyone either their collective or individual power.

"Tension is created not so much by the actions of free nations in preparing to protect their freedom, as by the actions of potential aggressor nations designed to covet or destroy the other countries' freedom," he said.

There were also those who pointed to the obvious shift in Communist strategy from overt aggression to subversion and insurgency as an argument not only against the validity of military exercises but also against the need for military preparedness.

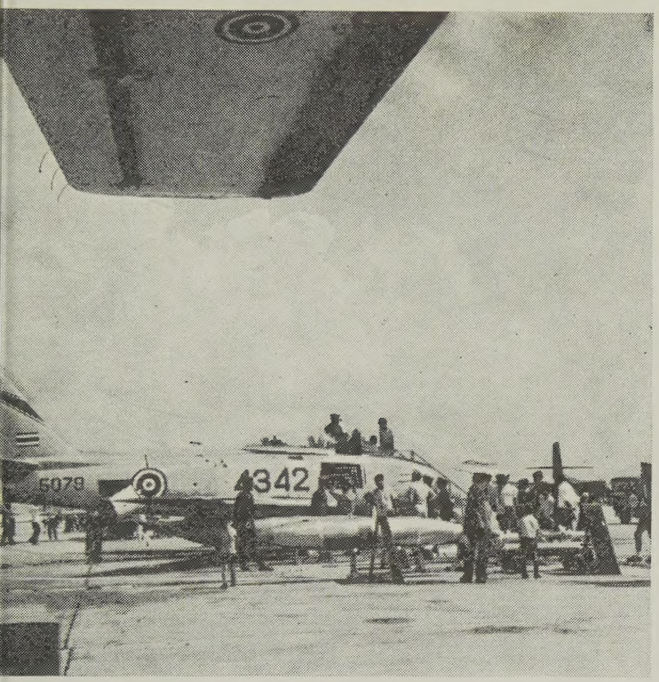
"Again, those who argue in this fashion are inconsistent and illogical," said Gen. Vargas. "We know for a fact that if the enemy has shifted from overt aggression to subversion and insurgency, it is because it has been made increasingly clear to him that the free countries of the Treaty area, particularly those allied under the Manila Pact, are determined and prepared to deal vigorously and decisively with any armed attack against them.

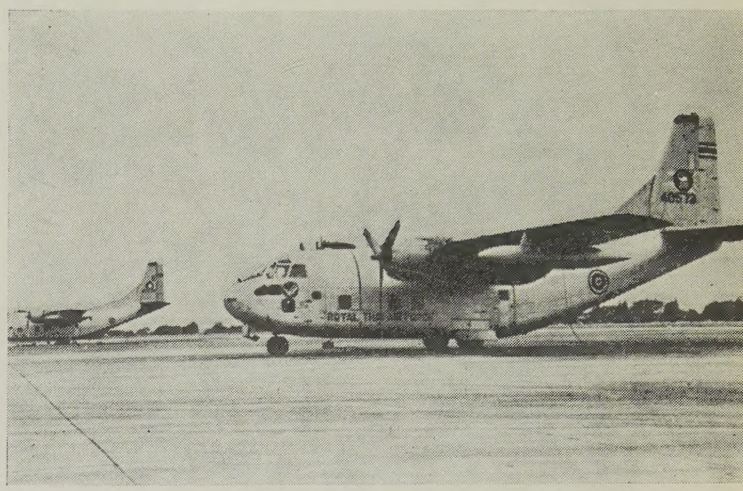
"I submit that the chances of Communist overt aggression occurring in this area varies in inverse proportion to the degree of military preparedness of the free countries of Asia and their allies elsewhere in the world," he continued.

"Air Chandra", although an integral part of a

(Continued on Page 10)

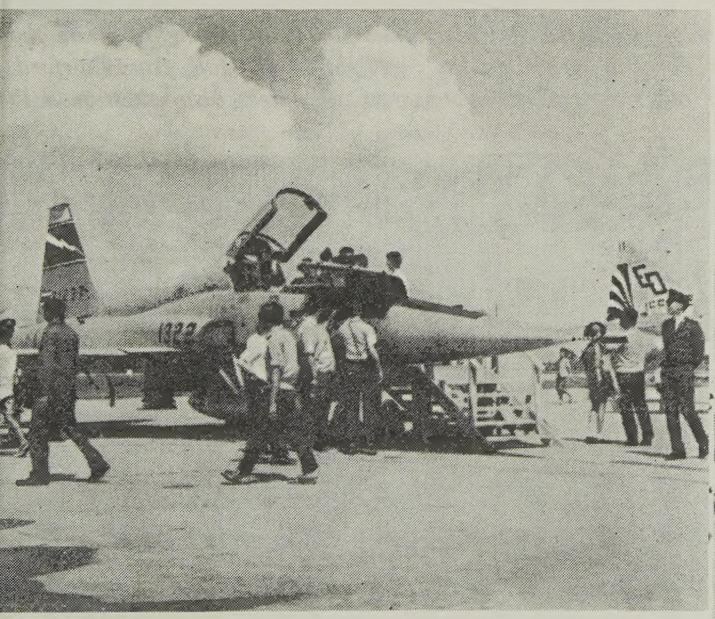
Thai air power on show





ABOVE: The chunky C123 Provider transport was in the Royal Thai Air Force line-up at Don Muang.

LEFT: From under the wing of a neighbouring aircraft, the cameraman snapped this shot of a Thai F86 Sabre fighter.

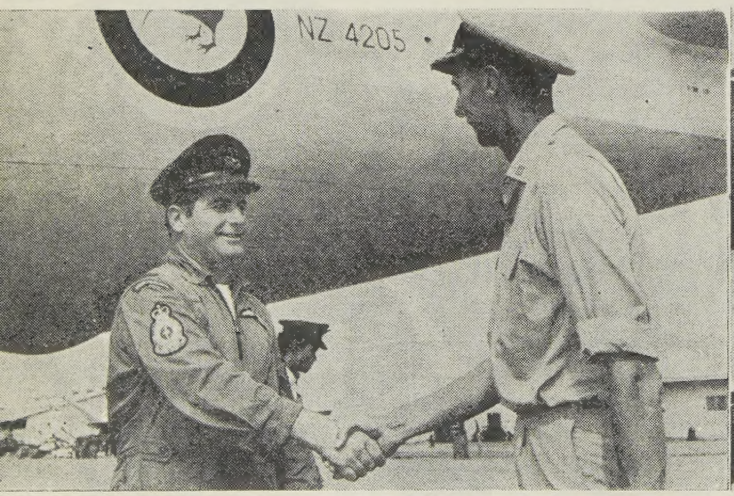


ABOVE: The sleek F5A Freedom Fighter comes under close scrutiny from visitors.

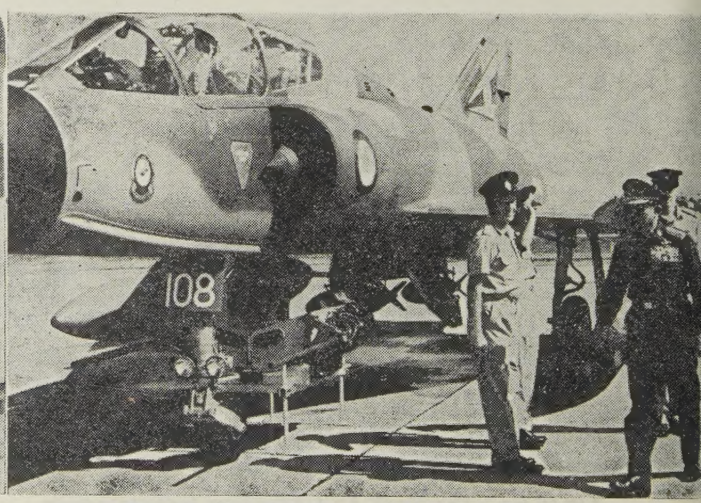
RIGHT: Youngsters swarm over the H34C—one of four Royal Thai Air Force helicopters on display.

RAF treat for Thai orphans

● *These six orphans from the Rajvithi Children's Home, Bangkok, were the guests of the Royal Air Force at "Air Chandra". Flight-Lt. G. Hall, from Fairford, United Kingdom, hands out sweets to the youngsters who were also entertained to lunch at the airport.*

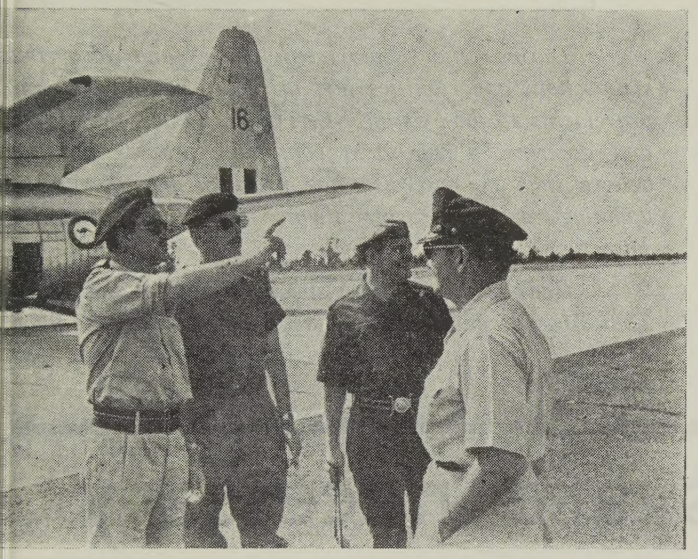


● *S/Ldr. P J. McKay (left), Captain of the RNZAF Orion aircraft participating in "Air Chandra", is welcomed at Don Muang by Capt. M.J. McDowell, RNZN, the New Zealand Military Adviser's Representative at SEATO Headquarters.*



● *Thailand's Prime Minister Thanom Kittikachorn (right), inspects one of the four Australian Mirages from No. 75 Squadron R.A.A.F. after performing the opening ceremony of "Air Chandra".*

GETTING TO GRIPS WITH AIRLIFT PROBLEMS



● *Three of the 11 United Kingdom officers who participated in the symposium study photographed at Korat during their tour of airfields in Thailand. From left to right: Commander G.J. Sherman, Lt. Col. B.R. Lamble, and Major M.J. Hutton. On the right is Col. A.W. Jones, U.S.A.F.*

● *The second stage of "Air Chandra" began with briefings at SEATO HQ leading to the symposium study of a centralised airlift system. Fifty seven air movements and air transport operations experts from Australia, New Zealand, Thailand, United Kingdom and United States took part. Here the Exercise Director, Major General Lawrence F. Tanberg addresses the delegates. On his left is Brigadier General Felix T. Pestana, Chief, SEATO Military Planning Office, with the two Deputy Exercise Directors, Air Commodores C.N. Spurgeon (Australia) and Vera Thaikla (Thailand) on his left.*

● *The airlift experts found plenty of interest when they toured the Royal Thai Air Force base at U-Tapao and port facilities at Sattahip. Listening to a briefing onthe petrol storage farm at Sattahip are (from right to left): Major R.T. Willing (Australia), Lt. Col. W.P. Riley (New Zealand), Wing Commander B.T. Taylor (U K.) and Col. A.W. Jones (U.S.).*

"Air Chandra" achieved objectives

● *Maj. Gen. Lawrence F. Tanberg, USAF, "Air Chandra" Director.*

ALL the objectives of "Air Chandra" had been achieved, Exercise Director Major-General Lawrence F. Tanberg, USAF, said in a statement at the close of the exercise.

The 24 aircraft deployed at Don Muang covered the broad spectrum of air power, but it should be remembered that this line-up was only a small representation of the inherent capability of SEATO.

"It was very much the tip of the iceberg but a true and timely reminder of the military capability of the Organization," said the General.

On the studies carried out on a centralized airlift system, Gen. Tanberg said that he could not disclose the findings, but could give the assurance "that we have achieved our objective in this regard and we believe, as a result of this, SEATO's capability will be further enhanced"

During the deployment phase and also the symposium, opportunities had arisen to recommend improvements to the existing SEATO air tactics, techniques and doctrine. "This is a continuing process but we believe that the exercise has provided the means of updating and improving them," said the Exercise Director.

Gen. Tanberg paid a special tribute to the Royal Thai Air Force "on whose capable shoulders so much of the preparation and organizing of the exercise has fallen."

Why exercises are necessary

(Continued from page 6)

long-term programme of SEATO military training exercises, was as timeless as it was timely.

It was **timely** in the light of the tendency, as in the widely-accepted Nixon Doctrine, of powerful and affluent free world countries allowing for more active participation of the developing free countries of the region in their own defence.

This distinct trend was being manifested in a gradual reduction in the military presence in the area of the bigger Free World powers and a concomitant growing capacity on the part of the Asian countries to solve Asian problems.

"This healthy trend dictates that the Free World powers which are committed to security responsibilities in Asia and the Western Pacific should have the capacity to move, promptly and effectively, adequate material and combat forces from bases more removed from the combat zones than were originally envisaged," said Gen. Vargas.

"Air Chandra" was also **timeless.** Much of the need for the ability and the capacity of member nations to airlift combat material and forces was mandated by the situation where some of the more powerful members of the Alliance were situated outside the Treaty Area.

The objectives of the 38th SEATO military exercise, therefore, also addressed themselves directly to a timeless imperative of the situation.

Gen. Vargas considered it "significant and proper" that so valid and relevant a military exercise as "Air Chandra" should be carried out in Thailand—"a staunch, anti-Communist nation and an unflinching supporter of the Alliance."

He praised Prime Minister Thanom—"among the world's best-known anti-Communist fighters"—for his role in the development and modernization of Thailand's armed services, and in the shaping of the existing system of defence arrangements and in the formulation and enunciation of Free World defence policy in South-East Asia.

The Prime Minister had "made his mark in the world-wide effort to promote peace and preserve freedom everywhere in the world," said Gen. Vargas.

'Air Chandra' Civic Action Project

'This health centre, and all that goes with it, will provide an essential service which will be in existence long after the exercise has been forgotten'

—Maj.-Gen. Tanberg, U.S.A.F., "Air Chandra" Director

OPENING a SEATO health centre at Tambol Khai Bok Wan, near Nong Khai, in North East Thailand, Maj.-Gen. Lawrence F. Tanberg, U.S.A.F., said the building "will not only serve to remind all of us of SEATO's military role in Thailand but will underline the fact that SEATO is likewise deeply involved in civic action as well."

Member nations, who had contributed to the centre, could be justly proud of a very fine facility.

The people of Nong Khai Province, who lived adjacent to unsettled areas in Laos, had an important part to play in preventing the infiltration of insurgents across the borders into Thailand.

"It is hoped that this health centre will play an important, if not a vital role, in improving the life of the people of this area and in helping to strengthen their resolve to keep Thailand free," said Gen. Tanberg.

● *The Thai and SEATO flags are raised at the opening ceremony.*

● *ABOVE: Elders of the village of Tambol Khai Bok Wan tie a sacred rope around the wrist of Major General Tanberg, U.S.A.F., when he opened the health centre. RIGHT: Local youngsters stand proudly outside their new centre.*

Foreign Affairs

MAJOR NEW
BY TH

President Nixon's 5-point formula for settlement of Indochina conflict

IN a nationwide television address to the American people on October 7, President Nixon proposed a standtill cease-fire in Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos, immediate release of all prisoners and a broadened peace conference to seek a settlement of conflict throughout all Indochina.

The following is the full text of his address :

"Tonight I would like to talk to you about a major new initiative for peace.

When I authorized operations against the enemy sanctuaries in Cambodia last April, I also directed that an intensive effort be launched to develop new approaches for peace in Indochina.

In Ireland on Sunday, I met with the chiefs of our delegation to the Paris talks. This meeting marked the culmination of the government-wide effort begun last spring on the negotiation front. After considering the recommendations of all my principal advisors, I am tonight announcing new proposals for peace in Indochina.

This new peace initiative has been discussed with the Governments of South Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia. All support it. It has been made possible in large part by the remarkable success of the Vietnamization policy over the past 18 months. Tonight I want to tell you what these new proposals are and what they mean.

First, I propose that all armed forces throughout Indochina cease firing their weapons and remain in the positions they now hold. This would be a "cease-fire-in-place." It would not in itself be an end to the conflict, but it would accomplish one goal all of us have been working toward : an end to the killing.

I do not minimize the difficulty of maintaining a cease-fire in a guerrilla war where there are no front lines. But an unconventional war may require an unconventional truce; our side is ready to stand still and cease firing.

I ask that this proposal for a cease-fire-in-place be the subject for immediate negotiation. My hope is that it will break the logjam in all the negotiations.

This cease-fire proposal is put forth without preconditions. The general principles that should apply are these :

- A cease-fire must be effectively supervised by international observers, as well as by the parties themselves. Without effective supervision a cease-fire runs the constant risk of breaking down. All concerned must be confident that the cease-fire will be maintained and any local breaches of it quickly and fairly repaired.
- A cease-fire should not be the means by which either side builds up its strength by an increase in outside combat forces in any of the nations of Indochina.
- A cease-fire should cause all kinds of warfare to stop. This covers the full range of actions that have typified this war, including bombing and acts of terror.
- A cease-fire should encompass not only the fighting in Vietnam but in all of Indochina. Conflicts in this region are closely related. The United States has never sought to widen the war. What we seek is to widen the peace.
- Finally, a cease-fire should be part of a general move to end the war in Indochina.

EACE INITIATIVE
NITED STATES

A cease-fire-in-place would undoubtedly create a host of problems in its maintenance. But it has always been easier to make war than to make a truce. To build an honorable peace, we must accept the challenge of long and difficult negotiations.

By agreeing to stop the shooting, we can set the stage for agreements on other matters.

The second point of the new initiative for peace is this :

I propose an Indochina peace conference. At the Paris talks today, we are talking about Vietnam. But North Vietnamese troops are not only infiltrating, crossing borders and establishing bases in South Vietnam—they are carrying on their aggression in Laos and Cambodia as well.

An international conference is needed to deal with the conflict in all three States of Indochina. This war in Indochina has been proved to be of one piece ; it cannot be cured by treating only one of its areas of outbreak.

The essential elements of the Geneva Accords of 1954 and 1962 remain valid as a basis for settlement of problems between States in the Indochina area. We shall accept the results of agreements reached between those States.

While we pursue the convening of an Indochina peace conference, we will continue negotiations in Paris. Our proposal for a larger conference can be discussed there as well as through other diplomatic channels. The Paris talks will remain our primary forum for reaching a negotiated settlement, until such time as a broader international conference produces serious negotiations.

The Third part of our peace initiative has to do with United States forces in South Vietnam.

In the past 20 months, I have reduced our troop ceilings in South Vietnam by 165,000 men. During the spring of next year these withdrawals will total more than 260,000 men—about one-half the number that were in South Vietnam when I took office.

As the American combat role and presence have decreased, so have American casualties decreased. Their level since the completion of the Cambodian operations was the lowest for a comparable period in the last four and a half years.

We are ready to negotiate an agreed timetable for complete withdrawals as part of an overall settlement. We are prepared to withdraw all our forces as part of a settlement based on the principles I spelled out previously and the proposals I am making tonight.

Fourth, I ask the other side to join in a search for a political settlement that truly meets the aspirations of all South Vietnamese.

Three principles govern our approach :

(1) We seek a political solution that reflects the will of the South Vietnamese people.

(2) A fair political solution should reflect the existing relationship of political forces.

(3) We will abide by the outcome of the political process agreed upon.

Let there be no mistake about one essential point : the other side is not merely objecting to a few personalities in the South Vietnamese Government. They want to dismantle the organized non-Communist forces and insure the takeover by their party, and they demand the right to exclude whomever they wish from government.

This patently unreasonable demand is totally unacceptable.

As my proposals today indicate, we are prepared to be flexible on many matters. But we stand firm for the right of all the South Vietnamese people to determine for themselves the kind to government they want.

We have no intention of seeking any settlement at the conference table other than one which fairly meets the reasonable concerns of both sides. We know that when the conflict ends, the other side will still be there. The only kind of settlement that will endure is one that both sides have an interest in preserving. ➡

NIXON'S NEW PEACE INITIATIVE

Finally, I propose the immediate and unconditional release of all prisoners of war held by both sides.

War and imprisonment should be over for all these prisoners. They and their families have already suffered too much.

I propose that all prisoners of war, without exception and without condition, be released now to return to the place of their choice.

I propose that all journalists and other innocent civilian victims of the conflict be released immediately as well. The immediate release of all prisoners of war would be a simple act of humanity.

But it could even be more. It could serve to establish good faith, the intent to make progress, and thus improve the prospects for negotiation. We are prepared to discuss specific procedures to complete the speedy release of all prisoners.

The five proposals which I have made tonight can open the door to an enduring peace in Indochina.

Ambassador Bruce will present these proposals formally to the other side in Paris tomorrow. He will be joined in that presentation by Ambassador Lam representing South Vietnam.

Let us consider for a moment what the acceptance of these proposals would mean.

Since the end of World War II, there has always been a war going on somewhere in the world. The guns have never stopped firing. By achieving a cease-fire in Indochina, and by holding firmly to the cease-fire in the Middle East, we could hear the welcome sound of peace throughout the world for the first time in a generation.

We would have some reason to hope that we had reached the beginning of the end of war in this century. We might then be on the threshold of a generation of peace.

The proposals I have made tonight are designed to end the fighting throughout Indochina and to end the *impasse* in negotiations in Paris. Nobody has anything to gain by delay and only lives to lose.

There are many nations involved in the fighting in Indochina. Tonight, all those nations except one announce their readiness to agree to a cease-fire. The time has come for the Government of North Vietnam to join its neighbours in a proposal to quit making war and to start making peace.

As you know, I have just returned from a trip which took me to Italy, Spain, Yugoslavia, England and Ireland.

Hundreds of thousands of people cheered as I drove through the major cities in these countries.

They were not cheering for me as an individual. They were cheering for the country that I was proud to represent—the United States of America. For millions of people in the Free World, the non-aligned world and the Communist world, America is a land of freedom, of opportunity, of progress.

I believe there is another reason they welcomed me so warmly in every country I visited despite their wide differences in political systems and national backgrounds.

In my talks with leaders all over the world I find that there are those who may not agree with all of our policies. But no world leader to whom I have talked fears that the United States will use its power to dominate another country or destroy its independence. We can be proud that this is the cornerstone of America's foreign policy.

There is no goal to which this nation is more dedicated, and to which I am more dedicated than to build a new structure of peace in the world where every nation, including North Vietnam as well as South Vietnam, can be free and independent with no fear of foreign aggression or foreign domination.

I believe every American deeply believes in his heart that the proudest legacy the United States can leave during this period when we are the strongest nation in the world is that our power was used to defend freedom, not to destroy it; to preserve the peace, not to break the peace.

It is in that spirit that I make this proposal for a just peace in Vietnam and in Indochina.

I ask that the leaders in Hanoi respond to this proposal in the same spirit.

Let us give our children what we have not had during this century, a chance to enjoy a generation of peace. ❞

Gen. Vargas welcomes proposals by "peace-maker" Nixon

SEATO Secretary-General Jesus Vargas welcomed President Nixon's "comprehensive initiative for peace throughout Indochina." President Nixon had clearly shown himself a "peace-maker," said General Vargas in a statement issued in Bangkok.

It was now up to Hanoi, the Vietcong and the other Communist forces and powers to respond favourably to the President's proposals or else stand condemned at the bar of world opinion as being bent on "aggressive war at any price rather than peace with honour."

The proposals recognised the reality of the fact that the wars in Laos, Cambodia and Vietnam were one war, the Indochina war. It was not possible to resolve these conflicts piece-meal in isolation.

Gen. Vargas said the proposals could and should lead to an honourable peace for both sides. They were realistic, reasonable and humanitarian.

"In the name of common humanity," said Gen. Vargas, "I hope and pray that the Communists will accept these proposals and join with the allies in an attempt to bring in an end this tragic, wasteful, bloody war."

In warmly supporting all the proposals, Gen. Vargas said he particularly hoped that the proposed expanded Paris talks would lead to a break in the deadlock and fruitful negotiations.

It was now up to the Communists to respond in the same reasonable spirit in which the proposals were made.

Saigon endorses U.S. initiative

ELECTIONS OFFER RENEWED

THE Republic of Vietnam officially endorsed President Nixon's new initiative to end the conflict in Indochina, and reiterated its offer to the Vietnamese Communists to discuss the holding of free elections.

An official statement issued in Saigon shortly after President Nixon's address also reaffirmed South Vietnam's willingness to discuss "mutual problems pending reunification through peaceful and democratic means." South Vietnam was still ready to talk with the other side without preconditions, the statement said.

"We hope that the other side will not continue to maintain its assured and arrogant demands for preconditions to be fulfilled by our side, which are tantamount to our surrender, before actual negotiations could begin," the official announcement added.

"The other side must know that these preconditions can never be accepted," the South Vietnamese Government stressed.

On July 11, 1969, South Vietnam's representative at the Paris talks had made a "most generous offer."

"We reiterate today this offer of free elections conducted under adequate guarantees. The GVN has proposed a mixed electoral commission, in which the other side can participate to assure equal opportunities to all candidates in the campaigning, and to see that people vote absolutely freely. We also have proposed the establishment of an international body to make sure that the elections are held under conditions fair to all," the official statement continued.

SERIOUS DISCUSSIONS

The South Vietnamese Government expressed its hope that the other side would "begin soon serious discussions on the concrete items proposed...for a prompt restoration of peace."

Noting that its statement was issued "after discussions with the U.S. Government and with the full support of the Governments of Cambodia and Laos, the South Vietnamese Government also proposed "an expanded conference, including the Governments of Cambodia and Laos, to deal with the conflict in all three States of Indochina."

FREE WORLD HAILS PEACE FORMULA

● Throughout the Free World there has been favourable reaction to President Nixon's new bid for peace in Indochina.

AUSTRALIA: The Australian Prime Minister, Mr. Gorton, in a statement issued in Canberra, said that the Australian Government held strongly to the belief that a just and permanent settlement could only be finally achieved around the conference table.

"For this reason we warmly welcome these initiatives taken by President Nixon to bring peace and tranquility to the States of South Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, and their neighbours.

"I emphasise that our view about a negotiated settlement has been based on two fundamental democratic principles: the right of the people of these war-torn States to determine their own future and as a corollary that we will not be a party to imposing on other nations a form of government which the people do not want.

"We understand the President's proposals envisage that the people of South Vietnam should freely vote for their own government and that candidates of any party should be free to stand at such elections.

"We also understand that the people of South Vietnam will by their own vote decide whether or not they will eventually join with any other State.

"Success or failure of President Nixon's new initiative will depend on the agreement by the Communists to accept the basic principles put forward and on their willingness to abide by them.

"Particularly we welcome the proposal for the return of all prisoners-of-war, journalists and other civilians, without exception and without condition to the place of their choice," said Mr. Gorton.

PHILIPPINES: Manuel Collantes, Acting Foreign Secretary of the Philippines, welcomed President Nixon's proposals and said: "This new initiative seems to be part of a worldwide effort to relax tension and dangerous conflicts which threaten the peace of the world. I hope the other side will view it in that light."

NEW ZEALAND: Prime Minister Sir Keith Holyoake said he approved of all five major points put forward by President Nixon.

THAILAND: Foreign Minister Thanat Khoman pledged that the Royal Thai Government would support all objectives put forward by President Nixon to try to achieve peace in Indochina. He told newsmen during a visit to Washington that peace in the region "must be on the basis that freedom and independence will be respected".

Thailand, he went on, "will go along and support the objectives President Nixon is putting forward in his peace proposals on South-East Asia to bring an end to hostilities".

CANADA: Mr. Mitchell Sharp, Canada's External Affairs Minister, said Mr. Nixon's proposal for an internationally supervised truce "represents a substantial movement on the part of the U.S." and "we would be prepared to participate, if asked, in such a supervisory force".

MALAYSIA: Tun Abdul Razak, Prime Minister, described the initiative as "a great leap forward in bringing about eventual settlement in the region." He added. I do hope that the parties involved... will give serious consideration to the proposal. The people of Indochina should be given sufficient time and opportunity to decide their own destiny."

40,000 MORE U.S. TROOPS TO LEAVE VIETNAM

PRESIDENT Nixon is making another reduction in the authorized United States troop level from Vietnam. Forty thousand more men are to be withdrawn by the end of this year, bringing to 205,500 the total since he took office.

Mr. Nixon made the announcement of the new withdrawal plans on October 12. The full text of the President's statement follow :

"On April 20, I announced that progress under the Vietnamization programme would permit a reduction of 150,000 Americans in our authorized troop ceiling between then and the spring of 1971. The first 50,000 increment of these withdrawals has already been completed ahead of the October 15 date which I set on June 3.

The continued progress of the Vietnamization programme has made possible an accelerated rate of withdrawal within the overall schedule announced previously.

Accordingly, I have instructed Secretary Laird to reduce the authorized ceiling of our forces in Vietnam by another 40,000 between now and Christmas. As a result of this decision, there will be authorized 205,500 fewer Americans in Vietnam by Christmas of this year than when I took office."

At a Press conference, Defence Secretary Laird said between 40 and 60 per cent of the 284,000 U.S. troops that would be left in Vietnam on May 1,1971, would be combat forces, left there to protect U.S. air, artillery, and logistical units.

During phase two of the Vietnamization programme, aimed at strengthening South Vietnamese forces, both the remaining combat troops and the air, artillery, and logistical units would be withdrawn, as the South Vietnamese took over more of these operations.

Although the level of fighting in Vietnam was at a "low level," he added, there was evidence that the North Vietnamese and Viet Cong were making efforts to supply Laos border areas and to resupply some areas in Cambodia and South Vietnam. The South Vietnamese were well able to cope with the situation.

Mr. laird said that such movement in the border areas indicated the North Vietnamese had "a plan for early 1971," but he did not elaborate.

Every effort was being made to interdict the flow of supplies from North Vietnam, he said, adding "this effort is exceeding our expectations."

'POSITIVE RELATIONSHIP WITH S.E. ASIA FUNDAMENTAL TO AUSTRALIAN SECURITY'

THE Australian Minister for Defence, Mr. Malcolm Fraser, said at Berri in South Australia, that the Australian Government believed a positive relationship with South-East Asia was fundamental to Australian security.

"We do not believe there is any security in isolation. We believe there will be no permanent security for any of the small countries of the South-East Asia region until there is permanent security for all," he said.

"Within our resources, our military capability must be geared for deployment in the region of which Australia is part when this is demanded by our concepts of regional security, as well as to meet possible threats to Australian territory. Any other course would involve the denial of our Treaty obligations," said Mr. Fraser.

The Minister said Australia today was moving from a situation in which it had been supporting commitments of major powers to a position of partnership with other regional countries, which must now accept greater responsibilities for their own defence.

The familiar forces which had influenced international events for the past 20 years were changing in directions which could not yet be fully foreseen. It was in Australia's interest and because of these changes that Australia was developing defence policies designed to serve Australia into the 1980s.

BRITAIN ANNOUNCES DEFENCE CONTRIBUTION TO S.E. ASIA

IN a White Paper on Defence, the British Government announced, among other things, that Britain will continue to support SEATO.

In addition, Britain intends to contribute to Five-Power Commonwealth defence arrangements relating to Malaysia and Singapore, and to continue discussions with leaders in the Gulf and other interested countries on how Britain can best contribute to the maintenance of peace and stability the area.

The White Paper went on: "Britain has long-standing associations with the Commonwealth countries of South-East Asia and she shares their interest in the stability of the area. The Government believes that the total withdrawal of forces planned by the previous Administration would have weakened the security of Malaysia and Singapore; and that a continuing British military presence on the spot will be valuable in helping to preserve confidence in the area.

"It has therefore proposed to the four Commonwealth Governments of Australia, Malaysia, New Zealand and Singapore that five-power defence arrangements should be established as soon as possible, which would include a contribution of British forces.

"These arrangements would be based on a political commitment of a consultative nature undertaken equally by all five powers, relating to the defence of Malaysia and Singapore. They would replace the bilateral Anglo/Malaysian Defence Agreement.

"The Commonwealth Governments concerned have welcomed the British intention to maintain a military presence in the area and the contribution of which the Government has proposed. They have agreed to join in working out the new political arrangements which will replace the Anglo/Malaysian Defence Agreement. A meeting of Ministers of the five Governments is proposed for next year.

"It is planned that the British contribution, which has been broadly designed to complement the forces of the other four Governments, will comprise: Five frigates or destroyers on station East of Suez (including Hong Kong); a British battalion group, including an air platoon and an artillery battery; a detachment of Nimrod long-range maritime reconnaissance aircraft; a number of Whirlwind helicopters.

"The provision of a submarine is also being considered..."

The U.S. Elections

THE 1970 elections in the United States ended in November with both the Republicans and the Democrats claiming that they had won. Actually, the results were mixed, and both sides made limited gains and suffered limited losses.

The Republicans can claim that they did not lose as many seats in Congress as the party controlling the White House usually loses in an off-year election. For example, they normally would have lost about 35 seats in the House of Representatives ; they lost only about nine or ten.

The Democrats, however, can point out that in President Nixon's close victory of 1968 his party won fewer seats in the legislature than usual, and so had fewer to lose.

The Republicans can claim that they gained two or three seats in the Senate, and that although they did not win a numerical majority they will actually have a working majority—a coalition of Republicans and conservative Democrats—voting on close issues.

Thus they are claiming an "ideological" victory, a claim reinforced by the fact that three Senators who were Mr. Nixon's major opponents on Vietnam and other issues were all defeated—Gore of Tennessee, Goodell of New York and Tydings of Maryland. The Democrats can reply by arguing that the Republicans failed in their original objective—to gain numerical control of the Senate.

So, as far as Congress is concerned, there was not much change—minor gains in the Senate for the Republicans, minor gains in the House of Representatives for the Democrats.

Free Asians have rejected that 'alien ideology'

● *Thailand's Foreign Minister Dr. Thanat Khoman*

— SAYS DR. THANAT KHOMAN

THAILAND's Foreign Minister Dr. Thanat Khoman told a British Broadcasting Corporation's World Service correspondent: "The Communists have found that Communism has been rejected as an alien ideology by all free Asians."

In an interview given in Bangkok, Dr. Thanat said the danger of Communist activities in Thailand stemmed from outside, from Laos, North Vietnam and, to some extent, mainland China.

In the South of Thailand, most of the Communist terrorists were remants of the last war, said Dr. Thanat, adding: "But Thailand and Malaysia are co-operating very effectively in eradicating the Communist threats along the common border."

In the North and North-East, Thailand and Laos had also been co-operating closely, but "Laos has it own problems, so the common action has not been as effective as in the South."

Dr. Thanat made clear, however, that the Thai people had been relying mainly on their own resources and energy and had never asked for outside help in manpower in their struggle against Communist infiltration, subversion and encroachment.

"What we have asked from our friends is support in the form of equipment, supplies and technical knowhow," he said.

Discussing the Communist threats, the Foreign Minister believed that the Communists would not get very far. The Thai people did not co-operate with them. "There may be some who have been terrorized or misled into joining the Communist ranks but largely there is no genuine co-operation from the Thai people with the Communist cause," he emphasized.

In Cambodia, the Communists had been carrying out a war of aggression against the Cambodian people. However, they had now run into staunch resistance from the Cambodians who had taken up arms against the alien invaders.

Many correspondents, Dr. Thanat recalled, had long written off the chance of survival for the new Cambodian Government. Now seven months had elapsed and "we have to note with admiration that the Cambodians fighting practically alone have done very well indeed in repelling the North Vietnamese and Viet Cong aggressors."

Asked about the possible consequences of the withdrawal of American forces from Thailand, the Foreign Minister replied that there might be problems to be faced, but both Thai and American authorities had been working together to smooth over the effects of changed circumstances.

He said: "We have done a great deal to lessen the impact. I can say confidently that we can overcome whatever adverse effects may result from the U.S. redeployment from here. Our economy is basically sound and healthy enough not to be severely affected by the move."

Dr. Thanat said that after the withdrawal of the U.S. presence in South-East Asia there would definitely be a power vacuum which certain other powers wanted to fill. In his view, no single nation or power should be permitted to fill this vacuum. The best group of nations to take over the role would be the Asian and Pacific countries themselves.

The Foreign Minister Stated that the idea on Asian collective security part forward by the Russians was a bid to fill the possible vacuum.

DEFENCE

MILITARY ADVISERS' 33rd CONFERENCE

'SEATO AN ESSENTIAL DETERRENT AGAINST AGGRESSION'

● *SEATO Secretary-General Jesus Vargas joins the Military Advisers at the flag-breaking ceremony which opened the Military Advisers' Conference.*

THE need to sustain military effectiveness to counter continuing and widespread Communist subversion, insurgency and aggression in South-East Asia was stressed by the Military Advisers of the South-East Asia Treaty Organization at their 33rd Conference which closed in Hawaii on October 16.

The text of the final communique issued after the conference follows—

"THE 33rd Conference of the Military Advisers of the South-East Asia Treaty Organization under the Chairmanship of General Sir John Wilton, Military Adviser of Australia, ended at camp H.M. Smith, Hawaii, today.

In reviewing the situation, the Military Advisers stressed the need to sustain military effectiveness to counter continuing and widespread Communist subversion, insurgency and aggression in the Treaty area. They reaffrmed that the Communist threat could be countered by a free world organization firmly resolved to stand together and that military co-operation in SEATO continues to be essential as a deterrent against aggression in the Treaty area.

Gen. Vargas talks to the Press on arrival in Hawaii.

The Secretary-General, Lt. Gen. Jesus Vargas, addressed the Military Advisers on political developments in the Treaty area. He commended the five-point Vietnam peace initiative by the U.S. Government as an honourable, practical and fair way to bring peace to the peoples of Indochina.

The Chief of the Military Planning Office, Brigadier General Felix T. Pestana, reported on the progress achieved in updating SEATO military plans since the last conference.

The United States Military Adviser, Admiral John S. McCain, Jr., reaffirmed that SEATO was an indispensable shield to checkmate the Communist threat in South-East Asia and is consistent with the Nixon doctrine.

He reviewed the military situation in South-East Asia, stressing the importance of the successful operations in Cambodia wherein enemy sanctuary

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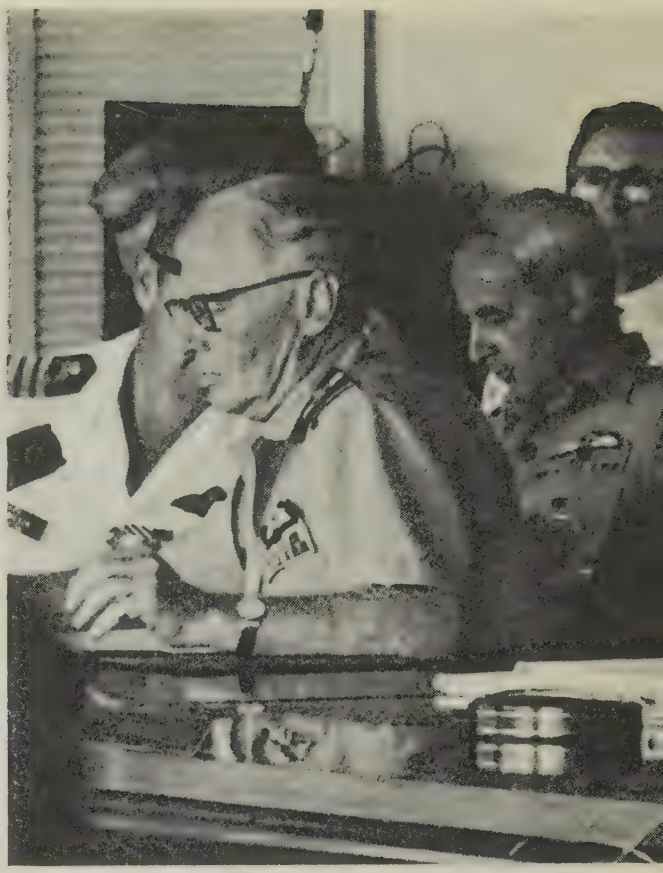
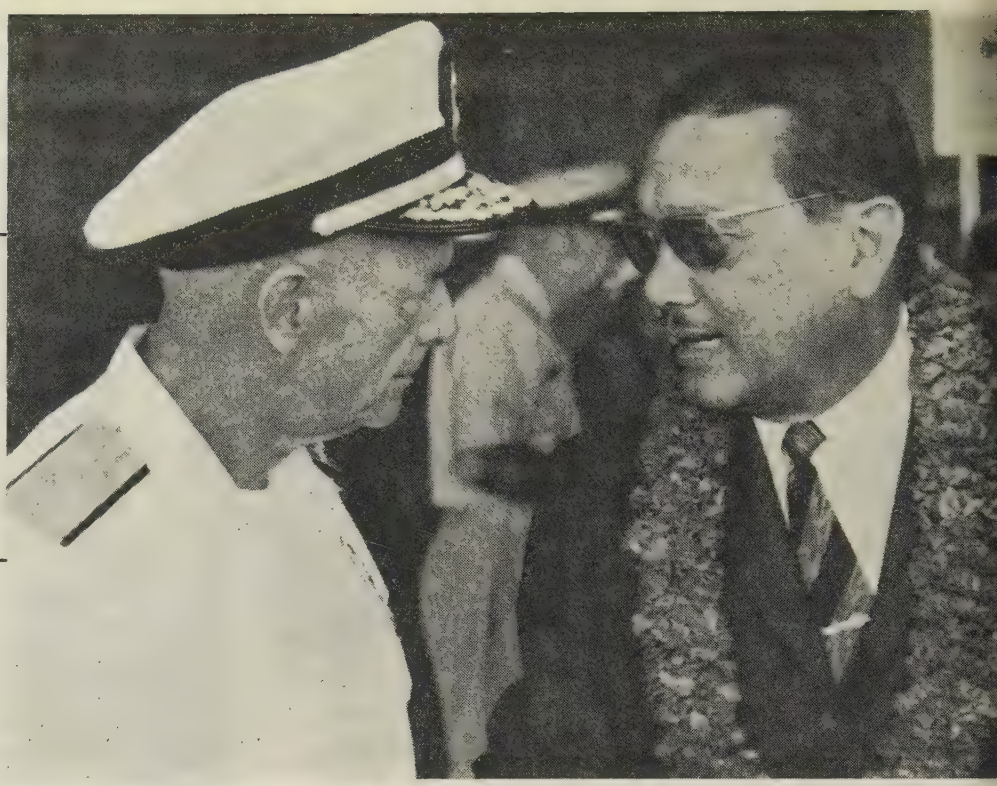
CONFERENCE CLOSE-UPS



Above: *Gen. Sir John Wilton and the Australian Military Adviser's Representative, Col. W.D. Jamieson, discuss a point.* **Right:** *A quiet word in the ear of the UK Military Adviser, Air Chief Marshal Sir Brian Burnett, from his Representative, Capt. R.E. Wilson (partly obscured).*

Above: *Gen. Manuel T. Yan, the Philippines Military Adviser, confers with one of the delegates.* **Left:** *Lt. Gen. Sir Leonard Thornton, New Zealand's Military Adviser, deep in thought.*



Admiral John S. McCain, Jr. (United States), greets Air Chief Marshal Dawee Chullasapya (Thailand) on his arrival in Hawaii for the Military Advisers' Conference.

areas and supply caches were destroyed. These operations provided new impetus to the Vietnamization and pacification efforts. Admiral McCain said that the burden of fighting was rapidly shifting to the Republic of Vietnam armed forces.

He further stated that the enemy, in shifting from large-scale operations to small-scale terrorist attacks, had tacitly admitted that his goal of winning militarily could not be achieved.

Air Chief Marshal Dawee Chullasapya, the Military Adviser for Thailand, said that the insurgent situation in his country is closely linked with events in South Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia.

The Air Chief Marshal warned that Chinese Communist road construction from South China through Northern Laos towards Thailand was indicative of Chinese intent to provide support, particularly in arms and equipment, for Communist insurgents in Thailand.

He expressed the belief that the Communists wished to establish a Communist regime in Cambodia which could also serve as a base of operations against Thailand and it was on this basis that the Royal Thai Government was providing assistance requested by the Cambodian Government. Air Chief Marshal Dawee said that his Government has the capability to meet the current internal threat.

The U.K. Military Adviser, Air Chief Marshal Sir Brian Burnett, informed the Advisers that much work was being done and progress was being made in working out, with the Commonwealth partners concerned, the new arrangements for a British military presence in South-East Asia.

The Military Advisers reviewed the plans in the light of the current threat and approved a programme of future work by the Military Planning Office.

They also approved the exercise schedule for 1971-73 and an exercise forecast for 1973-76.

The Conference noted with satisfaction that SEATO Exercise "Air Chandra" will be held in Thailand from October 24 to November 6, 1970. They considered that this exercise—the 38th to be held—will enhance SEATO's defensive plans and develop practical military co-operation.

At the same time it will provide further proof of the military capability of SEATO both to the free nations of the area and to any would-be aggressor.

The Military Advisers also noted that Major-General R.A. Hay, Australia, would assume the appointment of Chief, Military Planning Office, in January, 1971.

It was agreed to hold the next Military Advisers' Conference in London in early 1971 prior to the SEATO Council Meeting.

New Chief for SEATO Military Planning Office

MAJOR General R.A. Hay (pictured right) will be the new Chief, SEATO Military Planning Office, it was announced recently.

Gen. Hay, who is at present commanding 1st Division, Australian Army, will take over his new appointment in January.

A graduate of the British Imperial Defence College, Gen. Hay is a former Commander, Australian Force Vietnam, Deputy Chief of the General Staff, Australian Army, and Australian Defence Representative in Singapore and Malaysia.

He is the second Australian to serve as Chief, Military Planning Office. The other was Gen. Sir John Wilton, who is Chairman of the Australian Chiefs of Staff Committee and was SEATO Military Adviser for Australia until November.

Gen. Stilwell visits SEATO HQ

LT. Gen. R. Stilwell, former Chief of JUSMAG/THAI, pictured during his call on SEATO Secretary-General Jesus Vargas as part of his recent official visit to Thailand.

Gen. Stilwell is at present Deputy Chief of Staff for Military Operations, Headquarters of the Department of the Army, and also Senior Army Representative to the Military Committee at the United Nations.

Australian Military Adviser is appointed

VICE-Admiral Sir Victor Smith (pictured right) succeeded General Sir John Wilton as Australian Military Adviser to SEATO in November.

Admiral Smith entered The Royal Australian Naval College in 1927. He specialised in naval aviation and joined the Fleet Air Arm in 1937.

During the Second World War, he was Mentioned in Despatches for air torpedo attacks against the German battleship *Scharnhorst* and the Distinguished Service Cross during fighter operations from the British aircraft carrier *Ark Royal.*

LIAISON DUTIES

In 1942 he went back to Australia for liaison duties with the US Navy, returning to Britain in 1943 to join the aircraft carrier *Tracker* on operations in the Atlantic and with Russian convoys.

Admiral Smith then served on the Staff of the Flag Officer, British Assault Area, until after the successful Allied landings at Normandy. During the Korean War, he was Executive Officer in the Australian aircraft carrier *SYDNEY.* A graduate of the British Imperial Defence College, Admiral Smith became Chief of the Australian Naval Staff in April, 1968.

U.K. Representative hands over reins

CAPTAIN R.E. Wilson (centre) Royal Navy, who recently finished his two year tour of duty as the United Kingdom Military Adviser's Representative at SEATO Headquarters, introduces his successor, Group Captain H. Neubroch (left), Royal Air Force, to Brigadier-General Felix T. Pestana, Chief of the SEATO Military Planning Office.

Captain Wilson returned to England after the 33rd SEATO Military Advisers' Conference in Hawaii on October 15-16.

20th ANNIVERSARY OF MILITARY ASSISTANCE PROGRAMME

Thais' "remarkable progress" in national defence

THAILAND had always been a free country, but when there were aggressors from outside and within threatening to take away that freedom from Thailand, as there were today, then defences must be strengthened and modernised.

The United States Ambassador to Thailand, Mr. Leonard Unger, made the statement at a ceremony in Bangkok on October 19 to mark the 20th anniversary of the signing of the Military Assistance Agreement between Thailand and the United States.

But to strengthen defences against the threats, said Ambassador Unger, called for money and men as well as leadership and devoted effort. "The Thai Government has clearly recognized, of course, that those threats must also be met with parallel efforts in social and economic development," he said.

Turning to the "remarkable progress" made over the past two decades in the area of national defence, the Ambassador noted first that the Thai Armed Forces, now numbering almost 200,000 men, were almost triple their size 20 years ago. The Army in 1950 lacked proper small arms. Now all of the Army's manoeuvre battalions were, equipped with the modern M-16 rifles.

Mobility was essential for a modern army. The Thai Army now had more than 6,000 general purpose vehicles and over 180 M-113 troop carriers. In response to the particular demands of insurgency, one company of battle-proven "Huey" helicopters had been given to the Thai Army and another company, including some gunship capability, had begun to arrive.

A substantial Air Force now served Thailand, which now had six effective tactical strike squadrons and would add another with the purchase of the modern OV-10 counter-insurgency aircraft. Thailand's airlift capacity included two fixed-wing squadrons and three squadrons of helicopters.

The Royal Thai Navy was now an effective coastal patrol and anti-submarine force and had recently assumed the patrol mission on the Mekong.

"This equipment is of little value, of course, if proper training is not given to the men who operate and maintain it and to the men who go to battle with it. When the helicopter programme began, the Thai Army and Air Force pilots had to be trained in the United States. Now, the majority are being trained in Thailand by Thai trainers and soon all should be trained here", said Ambassador Unger.

Last year in the Thai Army and Police Force Counter-insurgency training camps, the Thai Special Forces and Border Patrol Police cadre, with advisory support from the U.S. Special Forces, trained over 4,100 personnel in the basic military skills needed to find and defeat the Communist terrorists.

Over the years the Thai Armed Forces with support under the Military Assistance Programme (MAP) had trained about 7,500 men in courses ranging from command and general staff college to technical courses for selected individuals.

Thailand had already made significant progress towards self-sufficiency. "Much of this is due to the government's wise economic policies which have increased the resources available for both defence and development. For instance, in 1963 MAP support almost equalled the Thai Government's defence expenditure. Now, even though total defence expenditures have almost doubled since 1963, the Thai budget is financing 80 per cent of these expenditures," said the Ambassador.

Consistent with this progress towards self-sufficiency, Thailand was supporting an ever larger share of her military operating expenses and had begun a programme of major equipment purchases.

Officers from Australia

● *A party of officers from the Joint Services Wing of the Australian Services College, led by its Director, Brigadier I.R. Geddes, visited SEATO Headquarters recently. They were greeted by Acting Secretary-General Robert Hyslop and afterwards briefed by SEATO officers on the functions of the Organization's Military Planning Office, and the development and co-ordination of its plans. Mr. Hyslop (left) and Brigadier Geddes (centre) are pictured with Col. D.S. Baldwin, the Australian Defence Attache in Bangkok.*

VISITORS TO SEATO HQ

Team from U.N. Armistice Commission in Korea

● *Major General Felix Rogers (right) USAF, senior officer in the party of officers from the United Nations Armistice Commission, Korea, which visited Thailand recently, meets Brigadier General Felix T. Pestana, Chief, Military Planning Office, during the group's visit to SEATO Headquarters. In the centre is SEATO Secretary-General Jesus Vargas.*

Powerful performance of "Swan Lake"

AUSTRALIAN and British naval units took part in exercise "Swan Lake" held in the Indian Ocean from October 26 to November 16.

The exercise was conducted to demonstrate the practicability of deploying ships from the east coast and other areas to the West Australia area and to provide tactical, anti-submarine, air operations and weapon training for ships of the Royal Australian Navy and Royal Navy and maritime forces of the Royal New Zealand Air Force and Royal Australian Air Force.

Exercises involved the Fleet Air Arm squadrons embarked in the carrier, *MELBOURNE*, in flying operations and tested the offensive and defensive air and anti-submarine capabilities of ships and aircraft.

The flexibility and versatility of integrating ships of the two navies was well tested in a series of tactical manoeuvres.

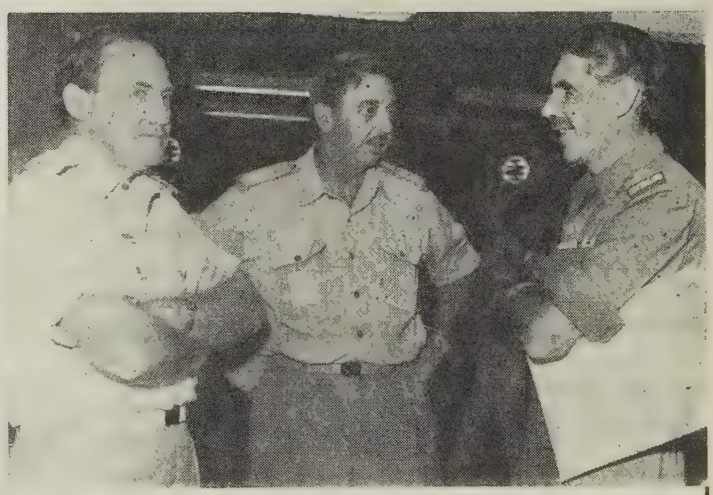
In the Great Australian Bight, long-range maritime patrol aircraft of the RAAF combined with the Fleet to counter surface intruders in vital sea lanes.

The ships participating in the exercise were: *MELBOURNE;* guided missile destroyer *BRISBANE;* destroyer escort *SWAN;* frigates *CHARYBDIS, MINERVA, LYNX* and *ASHANTI;* submarines *FINWHALE* and *OXLEY* and *OTWAY*, and patrol boat *ACUTE.*

They were supported by the oiler *SUPPLY*, submarine support ship *FORTH*, destroyer tender *STALWART* and the Royal Fleet Auxiliaries *OLMEDA, RESOURCE* and *TYPHOON.*

NEPTUNE and *ORION* anti-submarine aircraft from the RAAF and RNZAF also took part.

57 Officers Attend Orientation Course



ABOVE: Col. J. D. Stevenson (left), Deputy Director of Military Plans, and Col. E.R. Smith, the Director of Maintenance at Australian Army Headquarters, were two of the seven Australian service officers who attended an Orientation Course run in Thailand by the SEATO Military Planning Office from November 9-16. Here they talk to Col. R.K.G. Porter (right), New Zealand Army, who is serving in SEATO's Military Planning Office. Fifty seven officers from Australia, New Zealand, Philippines, Thailand, U.K. and U.S. attended the course. LEFT: Five New Zealanders who were on the course from (left to right) —standing: Commander D. J. Harris and Wg./Cdr. C. M. Hanson; sitting: Sqn./Ldr. K.W. Hewson, Maj. B. Jenkins and Maj. E. T. Finnimore.

PATROL ESCORT SHIP FOR THAI NAVY

HMTS TAPI, a modern warship which will soon join the fleet of the Royal Thai Navy, was launched at Toledo, Ohio on October 17, marking the signing of the first Thai-American Military Assistance Agreement.

Co-operation between the two countries was hailed at the launching ceremony for *TAPI*, a patrol escort vessel built under the Military Assistance Programme of the U.S. on a cost-share basis, in which the U.S. and Thailand each pays half the cost.

High-ranking officials from both countries attended the ceremony, including Sunthorn Hongladarom, Thailand's Ambassador to the U.S., Admiral Charoon Chalermtiarana, Commander in Chief of the Royal Thai Navy, and U.S. Rear Admiral W.P. Rapp, Deputy Commander for Plans, Programs, and Financial Management in Navy Ship Systems Command.

The *TAPI* (1,125 tons) will have a cruising speed of 20 knots. The ship's armament consists of two three-inch, 50-calible rapid-fire single gun mounts, one 40-mm twin mount, one 7.2-inch hedge-hog projector, anti-submarine torpedoes, and depth charges.

MEDICAL SEMINAR TO BE HELD IN BANGKOK

THE South-East Asia Treaty Organization will sponsor a special Medical Seminar on the methodology of medical research in a developing country in February, 1971.

Invitations to attend the seminar, which will be held in Bangkok, have been issued to the eight SEATO member nations and to Japan, Indonesia, India, Singapore, Burma, Korea, Malaysia and South Vietnam; other countries or individuals interested or specialising in this field are also welcomed to participate in the seminar.

The seminar, will be under the professional supervision of the SEATO Medical Research Laboratory in Bangkok, which since its inception 10 years ago has accumulated considerable experience in the conduct of field-orientated medical research, an essential prelude to the implementation of any health care system.

SEATO is sponsoring the seminar in order to share as widely as possible the benefits of the research and to submit the methods used to critical examination.

It is felt that the examination of the methodology of medical research, where the cost of research must be weighed against the cost of providing readily available health care will be of considerable assistance to all participating nations.

SEATO AID FOR CYCLONE VICTIMS

THE Council Representatives of the South-East Asia Treaty Organization, meeting at SEATO Headquarters in Bangkok on November 18, agreed that the Organization should contirbute US$ 5,000 towards relief supplies for the victims of the East Pakistan cyclone.

The Pakistan-SEATO Cholera Research Laboratory at Dacca, East Pakistan, may be asked to help administer the aid.

SEATO's Acting Secretary-General Robert Hyslop has written to Pakistan's Ambassador in Thailand asking him to convey the Organization's sympathy to his government.

Members of the SEATO Headquarters staff, the SEATO Medical Research Laboratory and other SEATO projects have also made voluntary contributions to a "Disaster Relief Fund" which has been set up at the Organization's headquarters.

DE GAULLE OF FRANCE

GENERAL Charles de Gaulle, the wartime voice of Free France and founder and President of Fifth Republic, died suddenly at his home in France on November 9. The former President would have been 80 on November 22. He retired after resigning the French Presidency in April last year.

De Gaulle, distinguished by his unusual height and endowed with considerable energy and a strong sense of discipline, had an outstanding military record before entering politics.

At the outbreak of war in 1914 he was a lieutenant. Twice wounded, he became a captain in 1915. At Verdun, De Gaulle was again wounded and captured. Five attempts to escape failed, and he made use of his confinement to become acquainted with the German milieu and language.

He was a member of the mission to Poland, headed by Gen. Weygand, that helped repel the Soviet advance on Warsaw in 1921. Later he taught at Saint-Cyr, the French military academy and at the Ecole Supérieure de Guerre.

In 1925 he was called by Marshal Pétain to the staff of the Conseil Supérieur de la Guerre. His writings, and especially some lectures delivered at the Ecole Supérieure de Guerre and repeated at the Sorbonne, attracted considerable attention and won the highest praise from Pétain.

When the latter was succeeded by Weygand as commander in chief, De Gaulle went for a time to Trier, Germany, with the army of occupation and then to the Levant.

Back in France in 1932, he was appointed to serve on the Conseil Supérieur de la Défense Nationale. By this time his thinking had taken concrete shape in regard to the new developments of the military art. He advocated the creation of a professional army and clearly foresaw the possibilities of mechanized warfare.

At the outbreak of the Second World War, De Gaulle was in command of the 4th Armoured Division and distinguished himself in action against the Germany Army.

Then a brigadier general, he was made (June, 1940) Under-Secretary of State for National Defence and War. But when Pétain, who had become Premier, decided to sue for an armistice, De Gaulle escaped to London where, on June 18, he broadcast his famous appeal to the French people to continue resistance.

This act of military insubordination earned him a death sentence from the new Vichy government in France. The Free French movement was thus launched by De Gaulle.

Increasingly De Gaulle had to deal with matters political, which he handled with considerable astuteness. Thus the Aglo-American invasion of North Africa in 1942 eventually resulted in the emergence of De Gaulle as head of the French Committee of National Liberation, established in Algiers.

Meanwhile, internal resistance, especially after the German attack on the Soviet Union, assumed increasing proportions in metropolitan France,

(Continued on Page 31)

Gen. Vargas on mission of 'utmost importance'

SEATO Secretary-General Jesus Vargas left Bangkok on November 8 on a three-week mission which involved visiting five nations—four of them in the SEATO Alliance—and having meetings and discussions with world leaders and statesmen.

His itinerary included Belgium and the SEATO member nations, France, Britain, the United States and the Philippines.

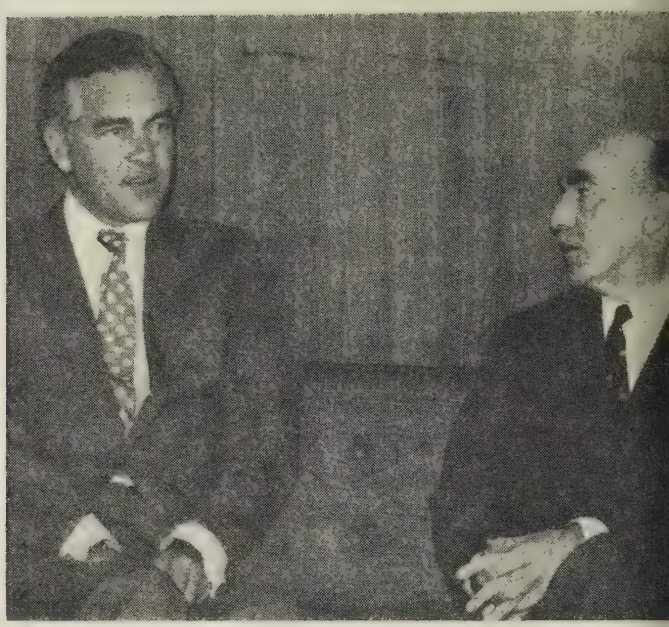
While he was in London, General Vargas had discussions with the U.K. Government about arrangements for the SEATO Council Meeting to be held there in Spring, 1971.

Just before his departure from Thailand, Gen. Vargas said that he attached the "utmost importance" to his mission.

"As far as the SEATO member nations are concerned, I shall give an up-to-date report on the activities of the Organization in all of its many fields of operations. Generally I will be able to report that SEATO is effectively doing the job that it was set up to do—deterring aggression within the Treaty Area and fostering the economic, social and cultural well-being of the peoples of the region," he said.

The Secretary-General said that during his visit to the five nations he would also do "a lot of listening". The sharing of experiences and views was the key to a better mutual understanding between nations, peoples, and institutions of the world.

"We in SEATO don't pretend we have all the answers to the problems of South-East Asia. We can always listen to advice, especially when it is drawn from the world's storehouses of knowledge and talent and when its aim is to preserve peace and defend the liberties and freedom of the individual," said the General.



● *Mr. Anthony Royle, Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State at the Foreign and Commonwealth Office (left), pictured with SEATO Acting Secretary-General Robert Hyslop during discussions at SEATO Headquarters, Bangkok.*

BRITAIN WILL BE 'A GOOD PARTNER' IN SEATO

MR. Anthony Royle, Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State, U.K. Foreign and Commonwealth Office, reaffirmed that Britain intended to be a "good partner" in SEATO when he visited the Organization's headquarters in Bangkok recently.

The British Minister had discussions with Acting Secretary-General Robert Hyslop and met members of the Organization's U.K. International Staff.

In a statement issued after his visit, Mr. Royle said that Mr. Hyslop had shown him that there were many important aspects of SEATO's work outside the military sphere.

"My country attaches particular importance to the work which is done in the identification and countering of those insidious forms of subversion which are a far more real threat today than is the likelihood of outright military agression," said Mr. Royle.

Economic aid and technical assistance were other fields in which there was much work to be done. "Here, too, the British Government is prepared to do its utmost to assist its friends," said the Minister.

AUSTRALIANS FIND NEW CLUE IN BID TO BEAT HEPATITIS

A joint Australian university and hospital research team has isolated a virus-like agent which may be the cause of hepatitis.

Dr. A.A. Ferris, Reader in Microbiology at Monash University, Melbourne, a member of the research group, said there was a "strong possibility" that the virus agent was linked with hepatitis but he said there was still a great deal of research to be done before the tests were conclusive.

Similar findings have been made at a Middlesex hospital in England and by an Italian Professor of medicine at the Salvatore Clinic in Milan. The Australian research team is now exchanging information on its findings with the Salvatore Clinic and the Middlesex hospital.

The joint Australian university and hospital research programme was started in August, 1969, by Dr. Ferris and Mr. J. Kaldor, a biochemist at Fairfield Hospital, Melbourne's major infectious diseases centre.

They were joined later by Mr. Geoffrey Cross, lecturer in virology at Monash University, and the hospital's serologist, Mr. J. White.

The Australian research team had access to the 600 patients admitted each year to the infectious diseases hospital with hepatitis. Dr. Ferris and Mr. Kaldor conducted a lengthy series of tests during which virus-like particles were discovered.

Dr. Ferris said hepatitis was now the only major infectious disease still unconquered since vaccines were found to protect children against measles and pregnant women against German measles.

"As far as the Australian research is concerned we feel there is still a long way to go yet before we can say that hepatitis has been beaten," Dr. Ferris said.

"The next stage of our research," he said, "is to carry out further tests on the antigen, study its characteristics, isolate the virus itself and then prove that the virus is the one causing infection."

Dr. Ferris said that once this was done the research team would be able to produce a vaccine from it.

"Not until then," Dr. Ferris, said "shall we be able to say that the fight against hepatitis has been won."

DE GAULLE OF FRANCE

(Continued from Page 29)

with the Communists endeavouring to secure control of the movement. With the Allied invasion of Europe in 1944 and the subsequent liberation of France, De Gaulle's provisional government received *de jure* recognition (October 1944) and formally superseded the Vichy regime.

Elections and a new constitution established the Fourth Republic. But, abruptly, De Gaulle resigned the Premiership (January, 1946) and went into retirement at his country home at Colombey-les-deux-Eglises.

France effected an excellent economic recovery from the war, but the politics of the Fourth Republic were unstable, while colonial difficulties assumed increasing proportions. These came to a climax as a consequence of the Algerian rebellion, which began in 1954 and out of which developed a military *coup* in May, 1958.

The outcome was the re-emergence of De Gaulle and the advent of the Fifth Republic, the Constitution of which instituted a presidential regime.

De Gaulle, as President, set about putting order into the affairs of France, both at home and abroad. He pursued a policy of close co-operation with the Federal Republic of Germany and favoured European integration.

He was elected to a second seven-year term as President in December, 1965. In February, 1969, Gen de Gaulle announced that there would be a referendum in the spring on reform of the Senate and the re-organisation of regional powers. On the eve of the poll he made it clear that he would "immediately cease" to carry on as Chief of State if the proposals were defeated.

The French people, however, turned down the proposals and Gen. de Gaulle resigned on April 28.

Australian Professor for Kasetsart

DR. Colin Asher, Senior Lecturer in Agriculture at the University of Queensland, Australia, has taken up his appointment as SEATO Professor in Soil Science at Kasetsart University near Bangkok.

Professor Asher, a graduate of the University of West Australia where he also obtained his Ph.D., conducted a research study in the general field of plant nutrition at the University of California at Berkeley from 1955-57, and served during the following two years in New Guinea as a rice agronomist.

Picture shows: Professor Asher (right) at SEATO Headquarters with Mr. Jean-Marc Montguerre of the SEATO Office of Cultural and Economic Affairs.

PAKISTANI RESEARCHER FOR THE PHILIPPINES

MR. Golum M. Shahjahan, Research Officer at the Medical Centre in Dacca, East Pakistan, has been awarded a SEATO post-graduate scholarship to work for a Ph D. in animal husbandry at the University of the Philippines' College of Agriculture at Los Banos.

He is pictured (right) with Mrs. Kamploy Snidvongs, of the SEATO Office of Cultural and Economic Affairs. during a recent visit to SEATO Headquarters in Bangkok en route to the Philippines.

25 years old

● In a statement issued in relation to UN Day—October 24—and the 25th Anniversary of the United Nations, the Organization's Secretary General U Thant said, in part—

"A QUARTER-century has passed since the leaders of a tired and bleeding world put their signatures to a document born of the agony and anguish of war. The Charter of the United Nations, which came to life in one of history's most momentous ceremonies, held out the promise of a world with peace, prosperity and freedom to be attained through equal rights for men and women and for nations, large and small, old and new.

The United Nations born of the Charter has done well, but it has not done well enough. In a sense, it is a great parliament of mankind to which evils, injustice and the aspirations of man are being brought; it has helped to prevent local conflicts from turning into world-wide conflagrations; it has assisted 1,000 million people to gain their independence; it has proclaimed the inalienable rights of the human person; it has revealed and helped to heal the great economic and social inequalities that prevail on Earth; it has condemned and fought colonialism, discrimination and racism in all its forms; it has defended the dignity of man and the integrity of our environment; and it has looked far into the future, warning nations and men of world-wide dangers ahead.

But the United Nations has not done well enough. It is unforgivable that so many problems from the past are still with us, absorbing vast energies and resources desperately needed for nobler purposes: a horrid and futile armaments race instead of world development; remants of colonialism, racism and violations of human rights instead of freedom and brotherhood; dreams of power and domination instead of fraternal co-existence; exclusion of great human communities from world co-operation instead of universality; extension of ideological domains instead of mutual enrichment in the art of governing men to make the world safe for diversity, local conflicts instead of neighbourly co-operation.

While these antiquated concepts and attitudes persist, the rapid pace of change around us breeds new problems which cry for the world's collective attention and care: the increasing discrepancy between rich and poor nations; the scientific and technological gap; the population explosion; the deterioration of the environment; the urban proliferation; the drug problems; the alienation of youth; the excessive consumption of resources by insatiable societies and institutions. The very survival of a civilized and humane society seems to be at stake...

Is it not high time for the leaders of this world to turn radically away from the errors of the past and to realize that understanding, love and tolerance are the highest forms of interest on our small and interdependent planet? That any wound of this Earth is a wound of the body as a whole? That parochial policies are self-defeating and self-destroying? Is this not what our youth is trying so desperately, though not so cogently, to tell us?...

It is time for governments to make a fresh start and to lift themselves again to the same high level, if not a higher level, of vision and determination as that of the authors of the Charter.

We must give the Charter a real chance at last. We must pass from words to deeds. We must pass from rights to obligations. We must pass from self interest to mutual interest. We must pass from partial peace to total peace."

SEATO applauds world body

SEATO Secretary-General Jesus Vargas sent the following telegram to the Secretary-General of the United Nations on the occasion of SEATO Day:—

"The South-East Asia Treaty Organization extends warmest greetings on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the United Nations.

"For a quarter of a century your organization has striven to preserve world peace and security, to protect the fundamental rights and freedoms of all men and to promote conditions of economic stability and general social well-being throughout the world.

"SEATO, which shares those same aims and ideals embodied in the UN Charter, applauds your efforts."

U.S. GIFT FOR THAILAND

● *The line-up of vehicles and equipment handed over by USIS to the Royal Thai Government.*

VEHICLES WILL BE USED BY INFORMATION TEAMS

THE United States Information Service (USIS) in Thailand has presented vehicles and equipment to the Royal Thai Government to be used by mobile information teams in sensitive areas in the country.

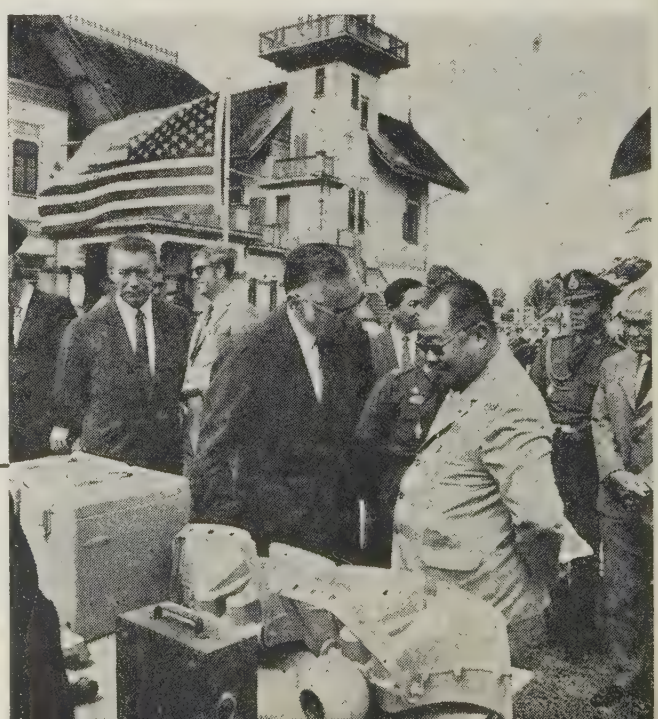
In a recent ceremony in Bangkok, the United States Ambassador to Thailand, Mr. Leonard Unger, made the formal presentation of 18 Jeeps with equipment to Thailand's Deputy Prime Minister, General Prapass Charusathira. Another 18 fully-equipped vehicles are to be presented at a later date.

All the vehicles will be used by the National Information Psychological Organization (NIPSO) of Communist Suppression Operations Command (CSOC).

Accepting the USIS gift, Gen. Prapass said Communist insurgency was spreading dangerously among the free nations of South-East Asia. "Not only do we have open armed invasion, but Communism is also disturbing interior security by the deception and incitement of country people living in remote areas, beyond the reach of official communications," he said.

The mission of NIPSO was to promote sympathy between the government and these remote country people, to spread understanding of free democratic institutions, to explain national development policies and to describe what the government wished to do in order to improve the life of the people.

The vehicles and equipment presented by USIS would be the principal tools for this organization to fulfil its mission.



● *Ambassador Unger and General Prapass, who are in the centre of the photograph, deep in conversation after the presentation ceremony.*

New British Ambassador to Thailand

SIR Arthur James de la Mare, K.C.M.G. (left) has taken up his duties as Britain's new Ambassador to Thailand. He is also his country's SEATO Council Representative.

Sir Arthur was born in the Channel Islands and educated at Victoria College, Jersey, and Pembroke College, Cambridge.

His career in the British Foreign Service started in 1936 when he was sent to Tokyo as Vice-Consul. He has also served in Seoul, Washington, San Francisco, and Singapore.

In 1963 he was appointed Ambassador to Afghanistan. He became British High Commissioner to Singapore in 1968.

Call for UN Youth Organization

REPRESENTATIVES of youth from 15 member and associate member countries of the United Nations Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East (ECAFE) have urged the establishment "as soon as possible" of a United Nations Youth Organization and an International Corps of Youth Volunteers for Development.

The suggestions were among several recommendations appearing in the report of the ECAFE-sponsored Seminar on the Role of Youth in National Development, which met in Bangkok from September 24 to October. 3.

The seminar was attended by more than 25 youth representatives from Australia, Brunei, Republic of China, Hong Kong, India, Indonesia, Iran, Republic of Korea, Laos, Malaysia, Nepal, Philippines, Singapore, Thailand and Western Samoa. Representatives or observers were also sent by United Nations bodies and specialized agencies and non-governmental, regional and national organizations interested in youth work.

In a section of recommendations to youth on their responsibility and role in national development, the seminar report stated, in part:

— "Young men and women should make every effort to overcome barriers to communication with adults and to work effectively with them . . .

— "Youth should give greater consideration to bridging the gap which exists between various sections of youth. They should be more tolerant and less parochial in working with each other and should strive to act in unison to promote the common good of all youth and society . . .

— "Youth should recognize the important role they have to play in promoting national development. It is in their own interest and in the interest of society as a whole that youth should make sustained efforts to remove the various kinds of disparities which afflict society and to further the development of society.

— "Youth should recognize its responsibility to ensure that its views (arrived at through due process of debate) on subjects important to society, are heeded. In this regard, it has the responsibility to act as a strong pressure group, within the bounds of democratic procedures, to make governments recognize the futility of war."

TO FIGHT FOR

THE practical Romans had a saying, *primum est vivere*, "first it is to live." What they meant was that everything man cherishes first of all depends on his own survival. And in basic training of the United States Army in 1942 the recruits were told by an officer: "Your first duty is to survive because a dead soldier is absolutely useless to his country."

Of course, war means killing, but so does life on this earth. From the simplest one-cell animal to man, every organism must consume food and this means destruction of other organisms. This is one rule that has no exception.

Objectors to war have a long record: Quietists in the Byzanthine Empire, Muslim Sufists, Chinese Taoists and Western Christian sects. The Mennonites migrated from country to country to escape war service while the Quakers, members of the Society of Friends, volunteered for dangerous missions behind the front in return for exemption from military duty. In June, 1970, the U.S. Supreme Court in fact recognized the right of a "conscientious objector" even if he did not belong to a specific sect.

That may have been mere appeasement under the circumstances. Whether the concession will turn out to be practicable remains to be seen because it is based on one fundamental: that the number of objectors is small enough not to endanger the nation or state. If the Quakers had represented the majority, Hitler and Japanese would have won the Second World War. But there is a fundamental difference between a nation as a whole and a few dissenting individuals or groups.

To recognise their right of existence is a hall-mark of much decried democracy but utterly absent under totalitarian government.

In passing it may be remarked that King Asoka has remained unique among the world's conquerors by turning missionary *after* his bloody conquests. The rule was the other way round, Buddhist rulers not excepted. In 1767, an ambitious Burmese Buddhist king sacked and burned Ayuthia [Siam] and conquered half of the country. At stake was not religion but national independence, and King Taksin rose to fight for it, earning the title of Thailand's Third National Hero.

Some 2,200 years earlier, a well-meaning Persian advised a Greek to submit to the King of Kings for the sake of overall peace and prosperity in contrast to the chronic strife among competing Greek city states. The reply has gone down to this day as famous:

> "*A slave's life you understand, never having tasted liberty. If you know it, you would have bidden us to fight for it.*"

That was just what the Greeks did, and on land and at sea they won a resounding victory against vast odds in numbers.

With the 13 American Colonies 200 years ago, the issue was taxes: "No taxation without representation!" The issue seems slight until you remember that taxes can drain the life-blood

SURVIVAL

By HUBERT FREYN

of a country, rich and poor alike. The famous *pax Romana* was unfortunately marred by the frequent rapacity of the Roman tax collectors, all way up to their governors.

The basic aspiration, though, for independence is man's innate instinct to be himself—and that the most benevolent and efficient colonial master is unable to satisfy, taking British India as a recent example of the past and a warning of the future. And the British were models of tolerance regarding local customs and religions, besides being efficient.

Unlike the Americans, however, the Thais are increasingly facing a struggle for sheer survival. This struggle is about as old as the Sumerians in Mesopotamia around 3,000 B.C., and only Thailand's protected geographic-political location has saved it so far. The replacement of the ox cart by the jumbo jet and of the bow-and-arrow by the guided intercontinental missile has in no way changed the ancient human drive for power. Also, the ancient adage still holds true that two or more parties are necessary for peace, but a single one suffices to start a war. Tibet, harmless, inoffensive and no danger to any country, serves as a telling example that merits being borne in mind all the time. And not only in the political sense.

As an aside, the youthful cry "make love, not war" would be admirable were it not as completely divorced from realities as is the conscientious objector's belief in absolute pacifism. All these people forget the other side, and that side now consists of merciless dictatorships where the only good opposition is a dead opposition.

This attitude is completely unknown in the Buddhist dictionary. But it is all-important where Communism prevails. All technical progresses—control of communications and transportation, loudspeakers, radios, television, the airplane—serve the dictatorships which use them purposely, and not for profit and entertainment. And the Communist drive is not only world-wide; it does not overlook the least individual, from the cradle onwards. From the very kindergarten the children are indoctrinated to pay worship to the sacred doctrine embodied by the Chairman.

Any other belief is heresy meriting damnation on this earth. Of course not slavery, the Communists being arch-progressives, nor torture dungeons. Labour reform camps and asylums for the insane do the job just as well. Think of the Tibetans!

That is the evidence. Now *individual* Buddhists, like the Quakers, may cling to their pacifism. Their concern is only their own salvation. What they forget is the other side which will make short shift of their meditations and order them to work on "useful" projects.

At stake are not only the monks but the whole nation and the whole future of Buddhism. And for these a dead or gagged monk is completely useless.

Buddhism cannot exist without liberty of the country that upholds it.

(from "World Fellowship of Buddhists News Bulletin")

New Zealand harnesses her volcanoes

By ROSS ANNABELL

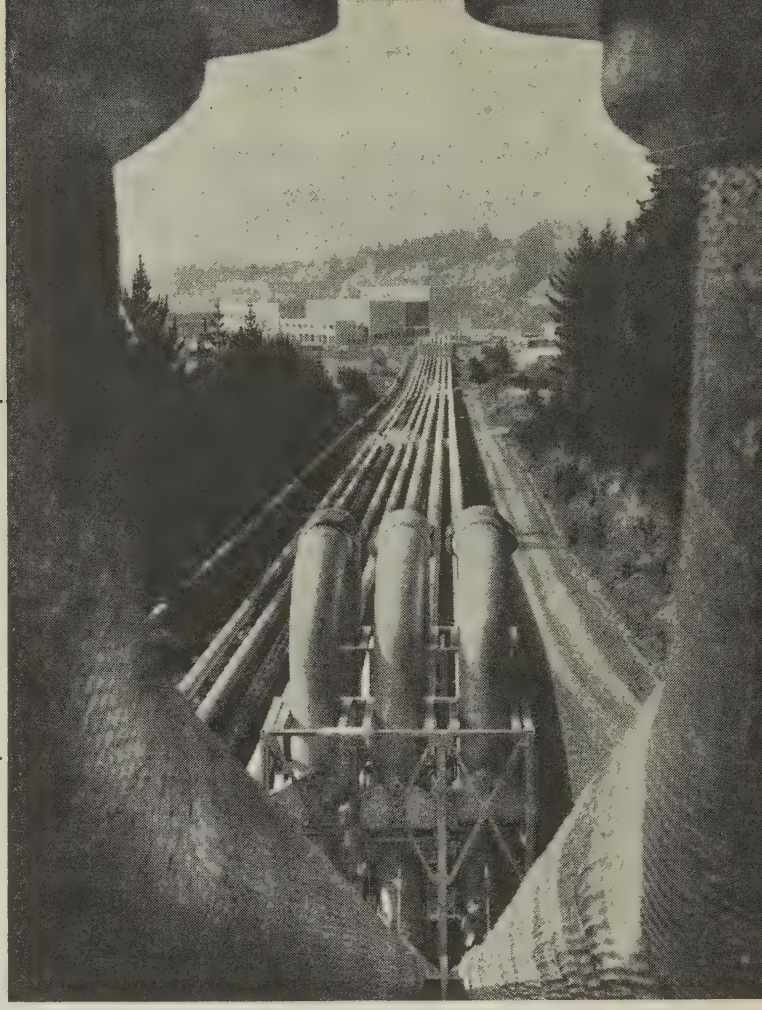
● Underneath New Zealand lie great resources of heat. On the surface these are tourist attractions—volcanoes and hot springs. But New Zealanders have found other uses. They are harnessing the heat in practical ways such as at the Geothermal Project at Wairakei (pictured above)—and the world is learning from their achievements.

NEW Zealand's volcanic marvels are no longer just a tourist attraction. The country's engineers have harnessed the molten power under the North Island and have put it to work—so much so that the country is achieving international fame for its achievements.

Engineers have developed one of the world's most successful geothermal power stations at Wairakei, near the volcanic region of Taupo, almost exactly in the North Island's centre. They have also established the world's only paper manufacturing concern using geothermal heat.

New Zealand has sent its engineers, under United Nations sponsorship, to help develop geothermal projects in Chile and San Salvador; engineers from Mexico and Taiwan have come to study New Zealand techniques in "volcano tapping."

And every year, new uses are being found for the vast underground heat resources—providing steam for home heating, horticulture, agriculture and industry. ➡



● *These pipelines carry steam from the Wairakei geothermal field to the powerhouses on the banks of the Waikato River. Large quantities of water are needed to condense steam at the powerhouses and it was considered more economical to pipe steam to a riverside powerhouse site than to pump water to powerhouses built at the steam field.*

Volcanic heat is now being used to sterilise mushroom farms, cook garbage for mass-production piggeries, warm tomato houses, steam-clean, cars, drive refrigerator compressors, mould plastics, and kiln-dry timber. The potential seems unlimited.

Perhaps the most successful development so far has been the role of geothermal heat in the production of newsprint at Tasman Pulp and Paper mill at Kawerau.

The plant is sited at the base of the dormant volcano, Mount Edgcumbe. Tasman's engineers have tapped steam from the nearby Onepu thermal springs, by boring to depths of 3,000 ft. They used similar methods to those developed at Wairakei power station.

Tasman today gets more than half the steam it uses for its paper production from volcanic heat sources. The bores now produce 400,000 pounds of steam per hour of the total of 750,000 pounds an hour required for the mill operation. The balance comes from burning mill wastes in normal boiler installations.

The Tasman project is believed to be the world's only large-scale use of volcanic heat in a major manufacturing plant. Scientists believe there is tremendous scope for similar future projects along the North Island's 150 sq. mile volcanic belt, which has four active volcanoes, and dozens of dormant ones still giving off heat through thermal springs.

The first major development was the Wairakei power station, now producing 156 megawatts of electricity — 10 2 per cent of New Zealand's total power production. Engineers located potential sites for several more power stations, and believe that Wairakei itself could be duplicated with another similar station on a site a few miles away.

One of the most efficient uses of volcanic heat is in a huge piggery at Taupo, where the town's garbage is cooked in large steam boilers, along with whey and grain, and reduced to a well-sterilised but nutritious soup.

The soup is piped to sows in geothermally-heated sties.

The piggery produces 2,500 baconers a year, and is among the country's top 20 piggeries. The sows average 9 1 piglets weaned per sow, which is three times higher than the New Zealand average.

(not to be reproduced)

WOMEN DOCTORS IN VIETNAM

By NGOC MAI

TWENTY years ago, there were few women doctors in Vietnam. In the last few years the picture has begun to change as women are now taking an active role in the expanding health services.

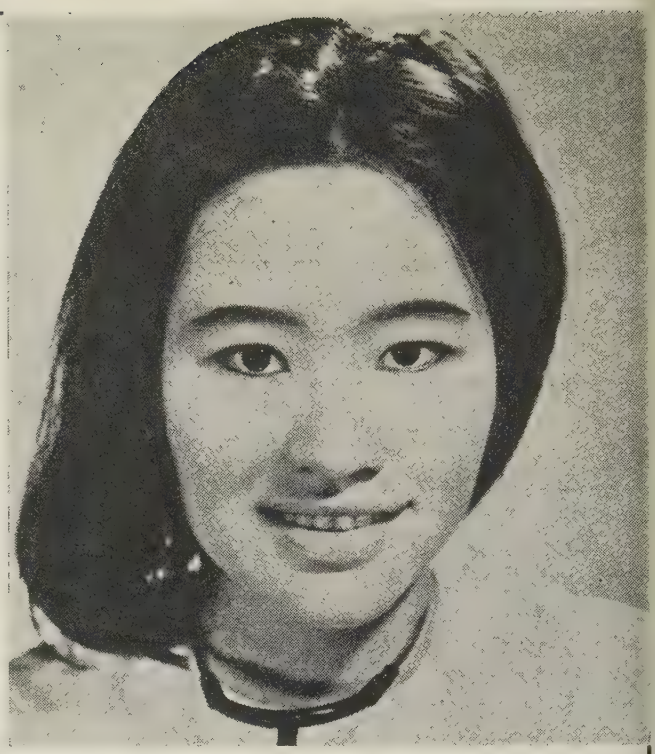
The number of doctors in Vietnam is increasing. In 1966 there were 835 in practice; by 1968 the number grew to 1,056—88 of whom are women. There are also 29 women pharmacists, some working with the Ministry of Health and others running private pharmacies.

There are now a 100 female students attending Saigon Medical School, which will soon be graduating 20 qualified women physicians yearly. Their presence dispels the traditional Vietnamese belief that the medical field is reserved for men.

Women, compassionate by nature, do well in this humanitarian field. With so many men in the armed forces, only the female students can complete the six years' training uninterrupted by military service.

Most of the women specialize in pediatrics and obstetrics. At one maternity hospital, nine of the 21 doctors are women. They provide care to hundreds of expectant mothers. Not all of the qualified women physicians are in hospitals. Some establish a private practice after three years; others teach at schools of medicine and dentistry, and a few provide care at girls' secondary schools.

A typical example of the young women doctors in Vietnam is Mrs. Nguyen Huynh Thi Lien, 32. Mrs. Lien, who graduated in 1967, provides medical care at two girls' schools in Saigon. She feels that the medical profession, although difficult, is an excellent field for women.



● *Dr. Nguyen Huynh Thi Lien.*

"I chose the medical profession", she said, "because I like it and it serves a useful purpose. As a doctor, I can render service to the people of my country, my family, and my friends. The greatest delight for a doctor is putting into practice what she has learned at school, and actually curing patients with the knowledge. The reward for healing a sick child is seeing the joy of the parents".

In addition to their regular activities, women doctors show a concern for social welfare. The Vietnamese Women Doctors' Association operates a free consultation clinic in Saigon. Besides giving medical care, the doctors get to know the patients and give advice to inexperienced mothers on child care. The association also cares for babies from needy families.

Over 2,000 women are working in other fields of the medical profession as nurses, laboratory assistants, midwives, and hospital aids. All of these women deserve the highest praise. Medicine is the noblest profession in the world, and in Vietnam, the health services cannot develop without help of these white-clad women.

THE MESKHETIANS

- A lost people under Communism

By
ROBERT CONQUEST

ALL of us, even the closest students of Russian affairs, tend to fall into the habit of treating the Soviet system as one conducted under different rules from ours, but at least more or less within the bounds of our own ideas of the plausible.

Unless we make a conscious and continual effort, we forget how fundamentally alien a sphere it is. We let the true shape of the system—and hence, of course, the true shape of the world today—blur in our minds. We talk, even, of cultural and political "convergence", owing to mere physical resemblances in parts of the economic system.

But occasionally some set of events dazzlingly illuminates the strangeness and aberrance of the whole Soviet order. One such has lately come to light—the fate of the Meskhetians, or Meskhi.

To put it briefly, the Meskhetians, a national group of about 200,000 souls, were deported en masse from their homelands in 1944, and this fact was totally unknown in the West until 1968—and, as to any detail, until a few months ago. It is as if, roughly speaking, the population of Iceland or Swaziland, of Kuwait or Alaska, should disappear without trace.

On the far side of the Georgian plains from the Caucasus proper lies the great block known as the Armenian Highlands, over which Russia and Turkey fought for more than a century.

The area on the present Soviet-Turkish border from the Georgian-Armenian frontier to a point just inside the Adzhar A.S.S R., almost cut off from the rest of the Georgian S.S R. by a stretch of uninhabited mountain, is shown in prewar ethnological maps as being inhabited by Kurds, Armenian, and (over the greater part of its extent) Turks.

These last represent a Georgian population which became Islamized and Turkized in the 17th century. The local Armenians, known as Khemshils, are also Turkized.

In fact the population was one which might be thought to have Turkish sympathies, even though in border areas of overlapping ethnic populations it has normally been the Soviet claim that, on the contrary, the Sovietized section of a given people is the one which those on the other side envy and wish to join.

EVACUATION

On November 15, 1944, this mixed population was deported. Unlike the other deported nations, it was not alleged against them that they had collaborated with the Germans—who had not come within hundreds of miles of the area. In fact, the move was represented as not being of a penal nature at all, but as a matter of evacuating them from an area which might be reached by the enemy.

But by this time there was no question of the Germans, then on the point of defeat, being the real threat. The political and strategic motive was plainly —already—with a view to trouble with Turkey and the West. And, in fact, within the year articles were appearing in the U.S.S.R. claiming the Soviet right over Georgian and other minority areas in north-east Turkey.

In the Meskhetian case, not only was there no

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THE MESKHETIANS

announcement, but it was not even possible to deduce the deportation from Soviet documents, as with the Balkars, Karachai and Kalmyks. There were no constitutional or administrative changes, and the Soviet postwar ethnological maps still showed Meskhetia as Turkic—perhaps because not even their compilers knew the facts.

Unlike the other deported nations, the Meskhetians were not under any accusation; and on arrival in Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan and elsewhere they were not at first subjected to N.K.V.D. (secret police, later the MVD and KGB) "Special Settlement" control, though conditions, especially in their main deportation area, the Uzbek "Hungry Steppe", were bad. But this control was introduced after about six months, and largely from that time they began to suffer heavily, losing about 50,000 dead.

MASS PETITION

It was not until October 31, 1956, that an unpublished decree of the Supreme Soviet freed the Meskhetians from M.V.D. control, without giving them the right to return home, or to recover confiscated property. Over the next two years they made repeated applications to be allowed to resume their ancestral territory.

The head of the Georgian K.G.B., Alexei Inauri, replied to a mass petition that this could not be permitted. Some were allowed to go to Azerbaidzhan, but no nearer. Here they were settled on the Mugan Steppe, near the Caspian, 300 miles from Meskhetia. The bulk remained in Uzbekistan, but the scattered groups kept in touch.

In February, 1964, a general meeting of the Meskhetian national movement took place at a kolknoz (collective form) in the Tashkent province. An Organizing Committee headed by the historian Enver Odabashev-Khozravanadze was elected, and delegations were sent to Moscow and Tbilisi. Again they were rebuffed by both the Soviet and the Georgian authorities, and by the Georgian K.G.B. Arrests followed.

In June, 1968, the Supreme Soviet, surprisingly dealing with the Meskhetians last of all the deported peoples, issued a public decree rehabilitating them—or rather (since no accusations had been levelled at them), restoring them to civic equality. A second paragraph, however, "noted" that they had "settled permanently in the territory of the Uzbek S.S.R., the Kazakh S.S.R." and elsewhere.

That is, like the Crimean Tatars they were still not allowed to go back to their homelands.

After various fruitless appeals, a large number of delegates reached Tbilisi in July, 1968, and on July 26 the Georgian First Secretary, Mzhavanadze, received a group of them. He told them there was no longer any room for them in Meskhetia, but that 100 families a year might be absorbed in other regions of Georgia.

Several times in these proceedings the delegates were told that the Government would soon settle the matter. But finally, in November, 1968, a delegation was officially told in Moscow that their homeland was the Soviet Union, and they should be content to stay wherever they happened to be in it.

An official rebuffed their complaints with, "I won't send your documents to Comrade Brezhnev, and he won't receive you. Go home and work."

Of course, the whole episode tells us a lot about Soviet nationality policy. And it is clear that the nations concerned, even those which have been restored to their homelands, remain, to put it mildly, unsatisfied with Moscow rule.

SABOTAGE ATTEMPTS

Last year, two Chechen attempts to blow up the statue of the Tsarist General Yermolov, who annexed the area, were reported. In March of this year, *Pravda*, the Soviet Communist Party newpaper, in a long and furious article, denounced no less than an illegal Congress of Moslem "Muridist" leaders who had actually issued instructions to the Ingush nation. There are a number of similar reports.

But the story of the Meskhetians has a far broader significance. An entire people (and one, what is more, from a frontier area) could be removed and put under a police regime thousands of miles from their homeland—a vast operation with heavy casualties—and the whole thing kept effectively secret for a quarter of a century, by a series of political leaderships in Moscow.

This may be thought to tell us more about the Soviet order than 100 books.

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Printed by Sompong Chaicharoen at the Sompong Press Ltd. Part. 14/8 Pracharasdra Road, Bangkok, December, 1970

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